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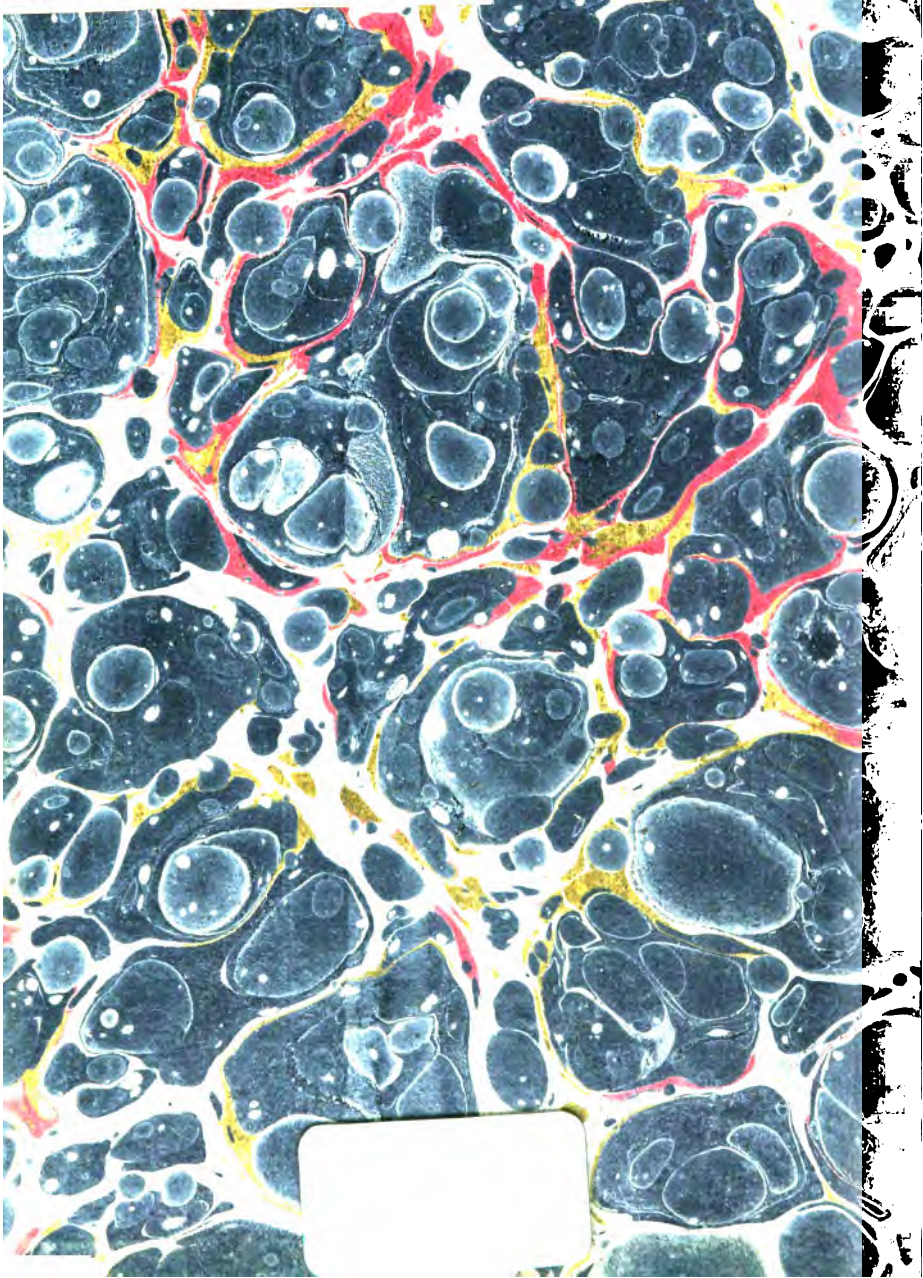
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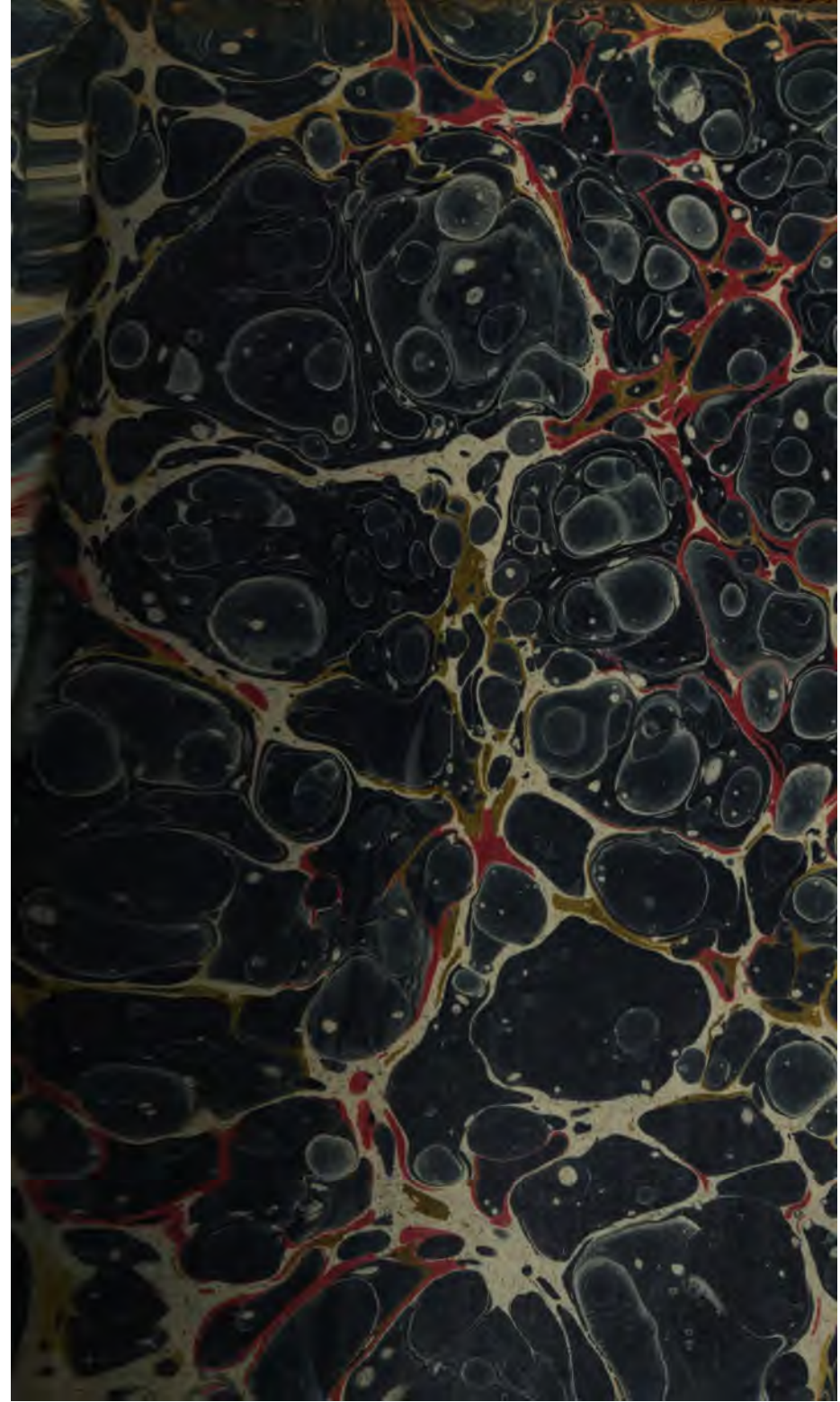
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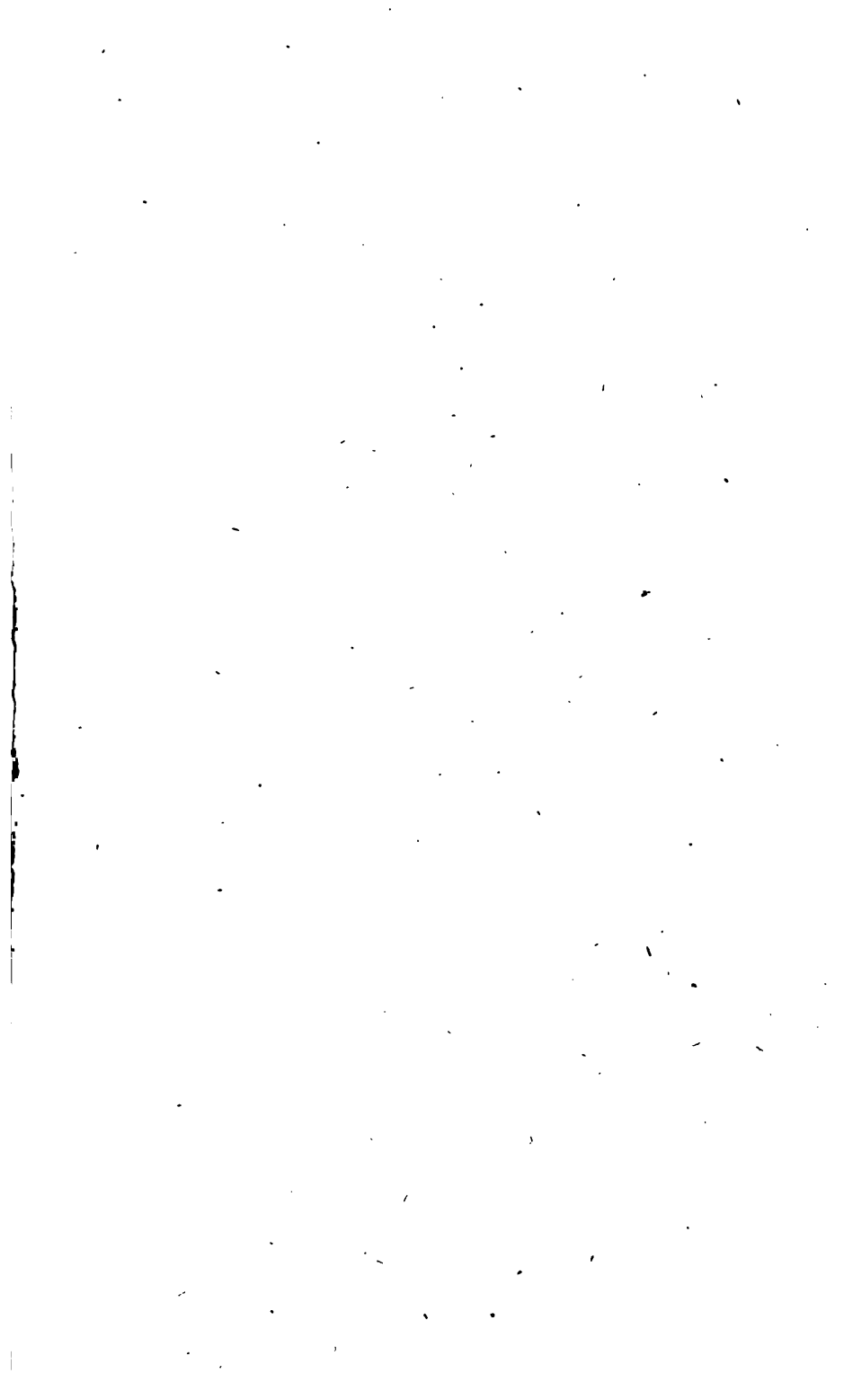
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July 30/









THE  
HISTORY OF IRELAND,

FROM ITS  
UNION WITH GREAT BRITAIN,

IN  
JANUARY 1801,

TO .  
OCTOBER 1810.

---

*BY FRANCIS PLOWDEN, ESQ.*

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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“Incorrupta fides nudaque veritas.”—Hog.

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DUBLIN:  
PRINTED AND SOLD BY JOHN BOYCE,  
NO. 9, ARRAN-QUAY.

1811.





TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

## THE PRINCE OF WALES,

REGENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN

AND IRELAND.

---

SIR,

IN the year 1803, I had the distinguished honor of ushering into public my *Historical Review of the State of Ireland*, under the sanction of your Royal Highness's countenance. In 1809, with your gracious permission, I dedicated to your Royal Highness my *History of Ireland, from its invasion under Henry II. to its union with Great Britain*. The acceptance of the latter work, was accompanied with a communication

most gratifying to the people, who are the subject of it, and flattering to the author : viz. " That your Royal Highness proposed " to yourself much satisfaction in the personal of it, not only from the conviction " of the authenticity of his researches, but " inasmuch as they regard a people, for " whose happiness your Royal Highness " feels the deepest interest." I aspired to the high honor of inscribing those works to your Royal Highness, because they brought before the public momentous incidents, by which your Royal Highness, as the first of his Majesty's subjects, is the most intimately affected. The history, which I now offer to the public, embraces the transactions of the Irish Government, from her union with Great Britain, to that temporary extinction of constitutional Royalty, with which it has been the will of the Most High, the people should be afflicted : a portion of which only, a majority of the two Houses of Parliament, have taken upon themselves to re-animate in



your Royal Highness. The transactions of the last ten years encrease in interest, as they advance to a crisis.

This anomalous state of the constitution has bereft your Royal Highness of the power of indulging your innate princely benevolence, and disabled you to give effect to the attributes of Royal virtue. An attempt to procure access to the executive (even under unconstitutional restrictions) over the heads of its responsible advisers might not be perfectly constitutional. And repeated experience has convinced me of the anxiety of its present advisers to keep from your Royal Highness the knowledge of those facts, which it is the prime object of this history to impart. With humble confidence I assume, that the spirit of your Royal Highness's former permission extends its benign influence to this continuation of my former works. Convinced then, that your Royal

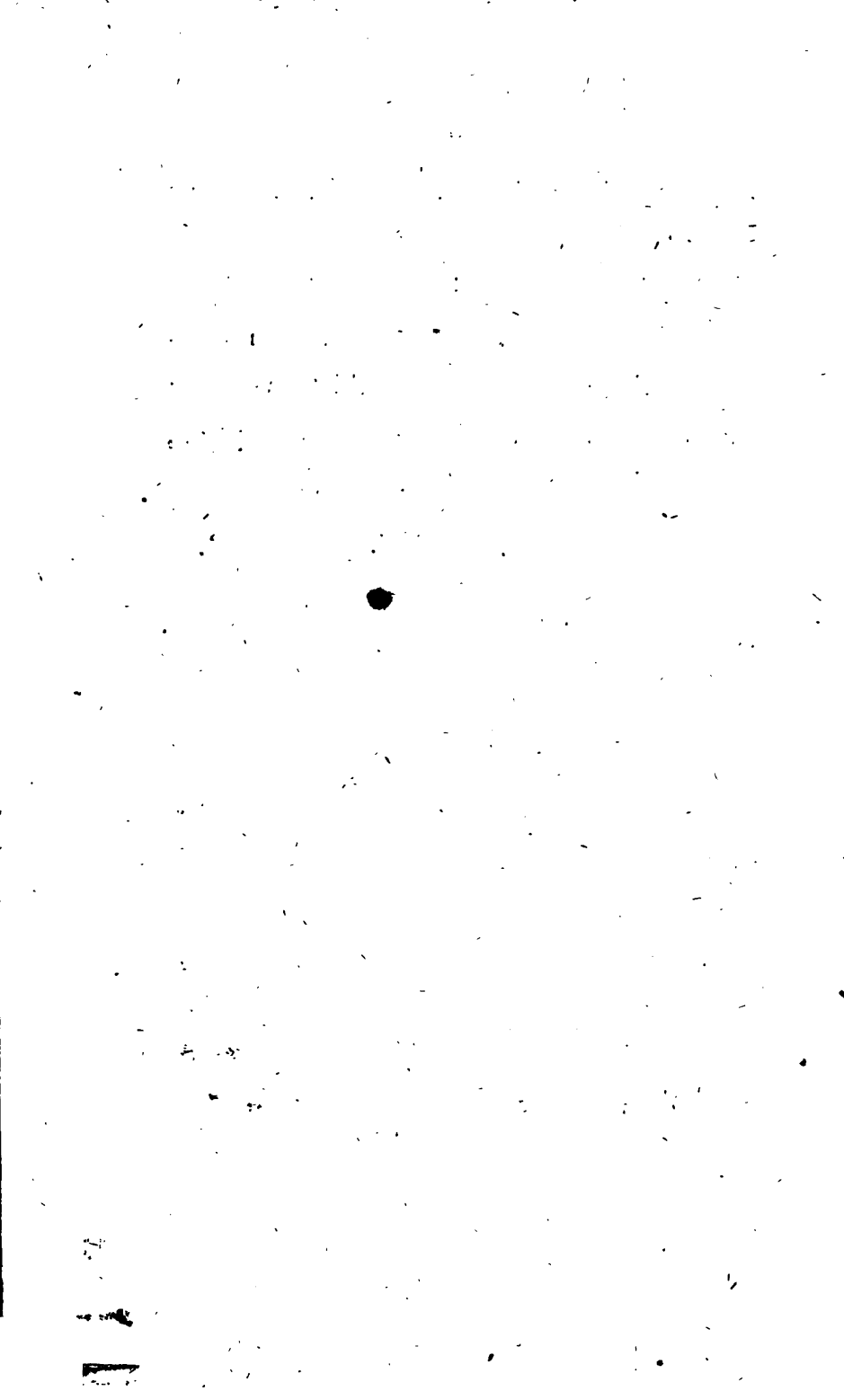
Highness still feels the deepest interest for the Irish people, viewing their warm attachment to your Royal Highness as an unequivocal test of their earnestness in the cause of the British Empire, believing, that without their cordial co-operation that Empire cannot stand, and reluctantly yielding to circumstantial evidence, that there long has existed, and still does exist a systematic confederacy, alarming, as it is disavowed and disguised, which puts your Royal Highness's native rights to hazard, and the State in danger, in anticipated confidence of your Royal Highness's continued permission I humbly dedicate to your Royal Highness these earnest efforts to unravel the confederacy by a faithful disclosure of the weak and wicked policy so long pursued in governing this valuable portion of the United Kingdom. Sympathetic justice to a high spirited and powerful population has suggested, an active anxiety for the interests of your

Royal Highness has encouraged, and the highest duty of a subject (my sworn allegiance) has summoned me to take in hand the arduous and ungracious, though transcendently necessary undertaking, to stem the destructive confluence of deception, falsehood, and corruption.

THE AUTHOR.

*July 19, 1811.*





## PREFACE.

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**T**HE Author was once upbraided for having volunteered his services in bringing before the public his *Historical Review of the State of Ireland*.\* He now presents himself before the public, no longer as a *Volunteer*, but as regularly enlisted, and fulfilling the indispensable obligations of his oath of engagement. It is some time since he swore *without any evasion, equivocation or mental reservation, to defend King George the Third, to the utmost of his power, against all*

\* Sir Richard Musgrave in his critique upon that work in the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, says of the author, p. 228, "Had he been compelled at this critical period to write his *Historical Review*, and had been impartial, whatever bad consequences might have followed, could not have been laid to his charge. *But he was a volunteer, an eager volunteer.*"

*all conspiracies and attempts whatever, that should be made against his Person, Crown and Dignity: And that he would do his utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to his Majesty and his heirs all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, which might be formed against him and them.*

Without further preamble the Author distinctly declares, that he considers the Orange Institution to be a conspiracy and attempt made against the King's person, crown and dignity. That, for the purpose of defending his Majesty against them to the utmost of his power, by this publication he *does his utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to his Majesty and his heirs the traitorous conspiracy formed against him and them.* He is free to say, that after he had acquired the knowledge of the obligation and engagements of the Orange Societies, he attempted by those means, which he judged prudent to make them known to the persons, through whom the disclosure might, and he presumes to add, ought to have been officially conveyed to the King in person. The Author's failure in his first attempt does not dispense with his further *utmost endeavours to disclose and make them known to his Majesty and his heirs.* In taking the oath of allegiance, he was sincere in declaring, that *he was not, and could not be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of that declaration, although the Pope or any other person or persons, or authority whatsoever, should dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning.* In virtue then of his oath, and in performance of the duty of his allegiance, the Author now submits the following sheets to the perusal  
of

of that public, which is generally bounden by the same oath with himself, as the most effectual method of disclosing and making known the traitorous conspiracy to his Majesty and his heirs. Had he merely charged, without proving, the traitorous nature of the Orangemen's obligation and engagements, and their attempts against his Majesty's person, crown and dignity, or did he delay the publication by one hour beyond the time necessary to render the disclosure full and effectual, then would he not in the *plain and ordinary sense of the words of his oath* have complied with, or fulfilled the obligations of it.

As the conscientious observance of an oath necessarily depends upon the conscientious understanding of it by the juror,\* the Author feels himself called upon to avow his decided opinion, that the oath of an Orangeman, as it is expressed in the rules and regulations for the use of all Orange Societies, hereinafter printed, is of a treasonable nature by common law, and felonious by the 47th Geo. III. c. xiii. which is *an Act to suppress insurrections and prevent the disturbance of the public peace in Ireland*; and which will remain in force to the end of the present session of parliament. An act, which has never been acted upon for the only useful purpose, for which it appears to

\* The author cannot subscribe to the generally received opinion, that an oath is to be taken in the sense, in which it is imposed or required, *secundum animum imponentis*: but *secundum animum jurantis*, that is, according to the juror's understanding, and the common acceptance of the words, in which the oath is expressed.

to have been passed, namely, that of making the initiation into an Orange Lodge, *Felony*; and for this sole purpose devoutly it is to be wished, that the legislature may amend and perpetuate it.

The ground of the first part of this opinion rests upon the universal admission, that by common law allegiance, absolute, unqualified and perpetual is due from every subject to his sovereign; consequently an oath to render it conditional, qualified or temporary, contravenes the purity of natural ligeance, and is of a treasonable quality. The ground of the second part of the opinion will be manifest to every one, who reads the enacting part of this statute, and impartially compares it with the secret, proscriptive and unauthorized obligation or oath of an Orangeman, as settled by the Grand Lodge of Dublin, on the 10th of January, 1800, as hereafter printed.

Sect. III. “ And be it enacted by the authority  
 “ aforesaid, That every person or persons, who shall  
 “ administer, or cause to be administered, tender, or  
 “ cause to be tendered, or be present, aiding or as-  
 “ sisting at the administering or tendering, or who  
 “ shall, by threats, promises, persuasion, or other  
 “ undue means cause, procure or induce to be taken  
 “ by any person or persons *in Ireland*, upon a book  
 “ or otherwise, any oath or engagement, importing  
 “ to bind the person or persons taking the same, to  
 “ be of any association, brotherhood, committee, so-  
 “ ciety or confederacy whatsoever, in reality formed,  
 “ or to be formed for seditious purposes, or to disturb  
 “ the

" the public peace, or to injure the persons or property  
 " of any person or persons whatsoever, to do or omit or  
 " refuse to do any act or acts whatsoever, under what-  
 " ever name, description or pretence such association,  
 " brotherhood, committee, society or confederacy  
 " shall assume or pretend to be formed or consti-  
 " tuted ; or any oath or engagement, importing to  
 " bind the person, taking the same to obey the or-  
 " ders or rules or commands of any committee or  
 " other body of men not lawfully constituted, or of  
 " any captain, leader or commander (not appointed  
 " by, or under the authority of his Majesty, his heirs  
 " or successors,) or to assemble at the desire or com-  
 " mand of any such captain, leader, commander or  
 " committee, or of any person or persons not having  
 " lawful authority, or not to inform or give evidence  
 " against any brother, associate or confederate, or  
 " other person, or not to reveal or discover his or her  
 " having taken any illegal oath, or not to reveal or  
 " discover any illegal act done or to be done, or not  
 " to discover any illegal oath or engagement, which  
 " may be administered or tendered to him or her,  
 " or the import thereof, whether such oath shall be  
 " afterwards so administered, or tendered or not, or  
 " whether he or she shall take such oath, or enter into  
 " such engagement or not, being by due course of  
 " law convicted thereof, shall be adjudged guilty of  
 " felony, and be transported for life : And every per-  
 " son, who shall take in *Ireland*, any such oath or  
 " engagement, importing so to bind him or her as  
 " aforesaid, and being by due course of law thereof  
 convicted,

“ convicted, shall be adjudged guilty of felony, and  
 “ be transported for seven years.”

Beyond the obligation of his sworn duty of allegiance, the author is impelled by a sense of the importance of Ireland to the stability of the British empire, to exert his further efforts to induce the prejudiced and the blind, justly to appreciate, and earnestly to co-operate in bringing into action the powerful energies of a gallant, warm-hearted and loyal people. Insulting is the pretence to establish tranquillity, peace and happiness in the country by those, who refuse, or neglect to root up and utterly to destroy the plants of discord so prodigally sown, so guardedly trenched, so artfully bleached and softened under the richest mould, so tenderly fostered throughout the land. Having thoroughly examined the nature and properties of this deadly exotic for the benefit of the country, in which its culture has been so powerfully forced, he cannot consistently withhold for one hour the result of his enquiries. He therefore publishes separately this disquisition before the history of Ireland since the Union, to which it was intended as an introduction, can appear before the public.

The Author anticipates the indulgence of every real Irishman, for introducing the following sheets to the notice of the public in the words of the greatest master of impressive and figurative reasoning, the *rostrum* ever boasted. On moving for the release of a learned judge from illegal imprisonment under an English warrant, he noticed the dead silence, into  
 which



which the public had been frowned on the sad occasion, and rejoiced in that factitious dumbness, because, when all was hushed, when nature slept, the weakest voice was heard. "Then, says he," (Curr. Speech in *Rex v. Johnson*) "The shepherd's whistle shoots across the listening darkness of the interminable heath, and gives notice, that the wolf is upon his walk; and the same gloom and stillness, that tempt the monster to come abroad, facilitate the communication of the warning to beware. Yes, through that silence the voice shall be heard.—Yes, through that silence the shepherd shall be put upon his guard.—Yes—through that silence the felon savage shall be chased into the toils."

## INTRODUCTION.

## ERRATA.

Page	Line	
16	24	for <i>natural</i> read <i>mutual</i>
27	19	for <i>warrant</i> read <i>summons</i>
60	1	between the words <i>their</i> and <i>extermination</i> introduce the words <i>oath of</i>
124	18	for <i>struck</i> read <i>stuck</i>

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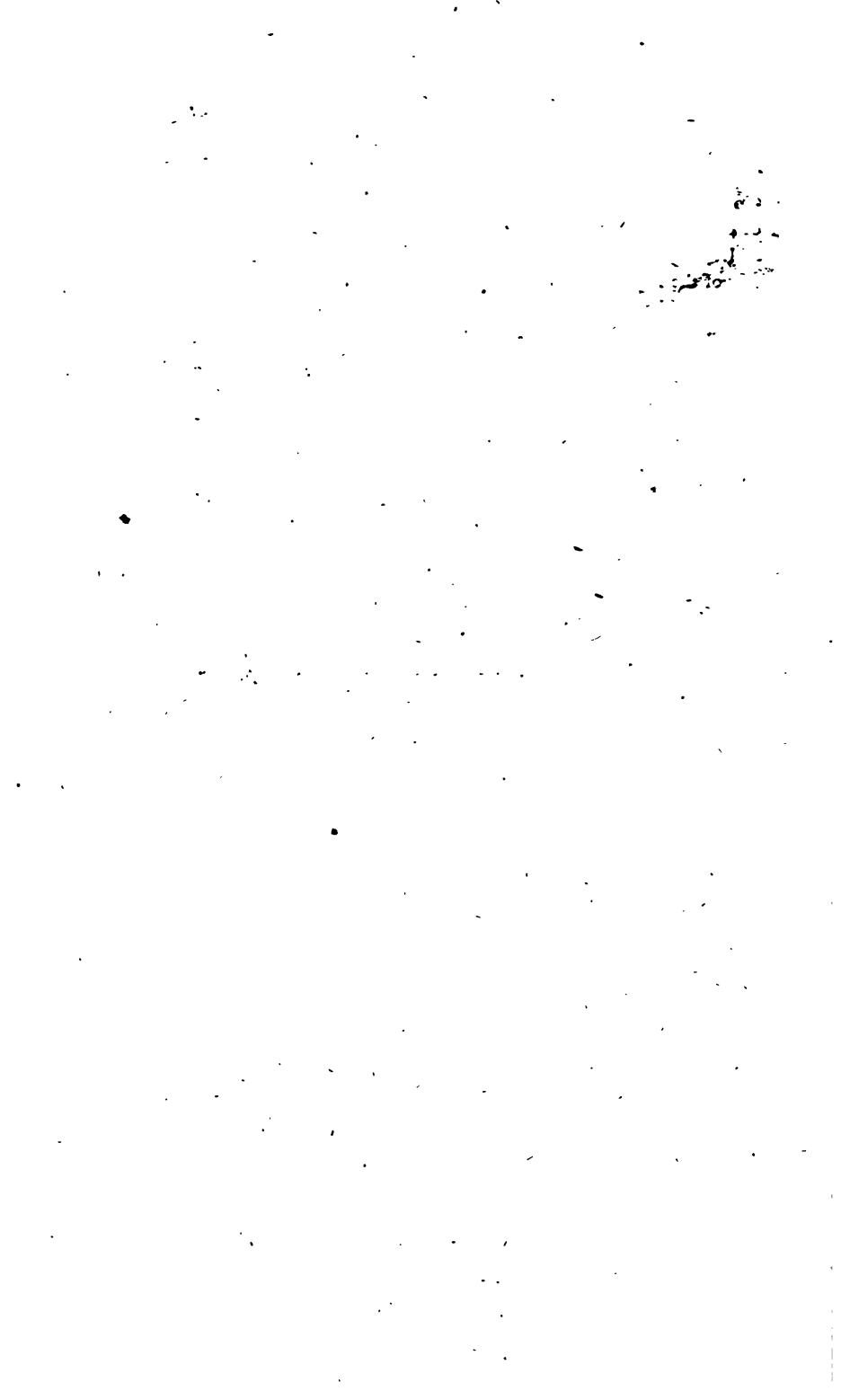
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## INTRODUCTION





## INTRODUCTION.

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**T**HE history of Ireland has been brought from Advantage of co-temporary history. its first connection with England down to its Union with Great Britain. That political event has not realized the flattering, prospects which the British Minister held out to the Irish people, as inducements to adopt the measure. The effects of the Union are of transcendent importance to the British Empire, and cannot be otherwise made known, than by continuing the history of Ireland from its incorporate Union up to the current year. The task of writing modern history is arduous and invidious. Nothing reprehensible, unsuccessful or disastrous can be fairly represented, without wounding the feelings of those, who planned or executed the measure. On the other hand, cotemporary history must ever gratify a people interested in, the faithful recording

B

cording of their national achievements. If the truth be at first disguised, distorted or suppressed, it may then be readily rectified or supplied by co-existing documents or testimony; and the existing generation will be assured, that their actions will be handed down in true colours to posterity. The liability of a co-temporary historian to be questioned either in or out of a court of justice for any falsehood, slander or malice, is a security not to be looked for in the writer of remote events. Though Ireland be legislatively united with Great Britain, the history of her people and Government is wholly distinct, and widely different.

**Necessity  
of developing the  
Society of  
Orangemen.**

In order to bring under the eye of the reader a comprehensive and impartial view of the history of Ireland for the last nine years, which may be called the first fruits of the Union, it will be requisite to trace to its source that political power, which had swayed the country for several years previous to the Union, as it still continues, though in a somewhat different manner, to sway it at this hour. As many of the facts, which gave rise and strength to that power happened before the period, which forms the subject of this volume, they are brought forward as introductory matter to the history, which they more materially, than perhaps, ostensibly affect. The existence of the Society of Orangemen in Ireland, has  
ever

ever since its institution been productive of such strong effects upon that country, that it is impossible to do her historical justice, without fully representing the different parts, which the Orangemen have been permitted or made to perform upon the national theatre. Although many of their achievements have found their regular place in the history of the times, in which they happened, yet a minute disquisition concerning the rise, progress, nature and effects of that society has become necessary to develop the views, motives and consequences of instituting, countenancing and keeping it on foot.

It exceeds the function of the historian to trace the acts of government to the private inducements of the ministers, who directed them. It is his duty to connect times and circumstances with public measures, and the reader will draw his own consequences. The history of Ireland during the last century is an uninterrupted chain of facts, proving to demonstration, that the government was carried on by keeping up a local ascendancy of foreign power or influence over the natural constitutional rights and interests of that country. It bore successively the appellations of the *King's business*, the *English interest*, the *British ascendancy*: and then it was an avowed appendage to the patronage of the British minister.

Protest-  
ant As-  
cendancy.

ter. It afterwards fell into the hands of an Irish oligarchy, who by a bold and arrogant usurpation, monopolized the whole political power of the country. In order to keep out of sight the paramount influence of the British Cabinet, they dignified their lucrative acquisition by the imposing title of *Protestant ascendancy*. Lord Clare had the address to bring forward the aristocracy of the country to pledge their lives and fortunes in support of it, before its practical meaning was made known to them.

First  
germ of  
Union in  
Mr. Pitt's  
mind.

Soon after the declaration of Irish independence, in 1782, Mr. Pitt failed in carrying his commercial propositions through the Irish Parliament. From having been thwarted in that favourite plan, which had been adopted by the two houses of the British parliament, his views and conduct towards Ireland greatly changed. In 1786 Mr. Foster was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, which greatly encreased his political influence in the country. A coincidence of views, and disposition to keep up a political ascendancy in the country, strictly united the then Attorney General, Mr. Fitzgibbon, and the speaker, with Mr. Beresford, to devote themselves to Mr. Pitt, under pledges to carry through all his business, provided the internal management and patronage of the country were left to their direction. The  
haughty

haughty mind of Mr. Pitt seldom permitted him to communicate fully his plans to others: he often made his most confidential servants the unconscious engines of his deepest designs. From that time Mr. Pitt meditated a legislative Union, which for a long time he carefully concealed from those political contractors, who would then have revolted against the project, as defeating the object of their lucrative and ambitious speculations. Mr. Pitt was a man of resistless pertinacity and ambition. Sensible that the measure of Union, particularly after the late establishment of their legislative independence would be resisted by every true Irishman, his mind was brought to conviction, that it could only be pressed upon her in the hour of fear and weakness, of which the most immediate and unfailing causes are national division and religious dissension.

Dr. Woodward, Bishop of Cloyne, published a pamphlet, which he entitled, *The Present State of the Church of Ireland*, in which he roundly charged the Catholics and Presbyterians with being *by principle* hostile to the constitution in Church and state. This raised a polemical contest kept up by numerous publications on both sides. Each party, as usual, on such occasions, claimed the victory. The rewards, however, were all on one side. Every clerical writer

Bishop of Cloyne's controversy.  
in

in support of the Bishop was liberally promoted for the share he bore in the warfare.\* Of the

\* Out of that controversy arose the admirable productions of the Rev. Arthur O'Leary, a Catholic priest, on toleration, which removed from the minds of many Catholics the difficulties, which up to that time it is well known prevented them from swearing allegiance to the house of Hanover, and abjuring the pretensions of the House of Stuart. That Rev. Divine so happily blended a vein of liberality and original humour with orthodox instruction, that his writings became popular even with Protestants, and produced so much toleration and cordiality between them and the Catholics, that created a serious alarm in those, who studied to perpetuate their division and consequent weakness. With much art they endeavoured to stop the progress of this terrifying liberality and harmony among Irishmen of different religious professions. The Rev. Arthur O'Leary was thanked by the British Minister for the services he had rendered to the state, by frightening away the bugbear of Jacobitism, and securing the allegiance of the whole Catholic body to the illustrious house of Hanover. A pension of £200 was granted to him for his life in the name of a trustee; but upon the secret condition, that he should for the future withhold his pen, and reside no more in Ireland: in such dread was holden an evangelizer of tolerance and brotherhood in that country. Two or three payments of this hush money were made. Afterwards an arbitrary refusal for many years threw the Rev. Pensioner upon the voluntary support of his friends for subsistence. After a lapse of many years, by importunity and solicitation, and repeated proofs of his having complied with the secret conditions, he received a large arrear; and in order to make himself independent for the rest of his days, he purchased with it an annuity for his life from a public office, and died before the first quarter became due.

utility

utility of the several publications, which arose out of that controversy, every man will judge, who has read them. No one however can deny, that the immediate result of the contest was increased virulence and animosity on the part of the *Protestant ascendancy* against the Catholic and Presbyterian : and reconciliation and amity between the Presbyterian and the Catholic. An union, which naturally stimulated the Protestant ascendancy to a fiercer lust of rule, and provoked the Catholics and Presbyterians, (they compose the bulk of the population) to a vindictive acerbity of retaliation, to which they had long been strangers. From that hour to the present, the fair observer of political events in Ireland will distinctly mark the workings of the *Protestant ascendancy* in the rule and guidance of a numerous body of men united by oaths of secrecy, deluded under pretence of religion, goaded by superstition and passion, lured by interest, and organized into complete subordination and blind obedience to the commands of their leaders. Mr. Pitt largely lent the arm of the executive to all the purposes of intolerance, to which his Irish undertakers thought fit to apply it. The weakening of Ireland by internal dissension was the private order given to the triumvirate. The public instructions to the ostensible and responsible officers of the Crown concealed

concealed the Machiavelian principle in the back ground.

System of  
terrifying  
by false  
alarms.

It was a \* favourite tactic of Mr Pitt's to create false alarms, with a view of engrafting strong measures upon the timidity, which they created. Mr. Fitzgibbon in the first fervor of devotion to his patron outran his commission; and so far exceeded all the bounds of decency, as to retail officially in the House of Commons a most alarming report of the outrages of the *Right Boys* in 1787, as proceeding from a popish conspiracy. In this Mr. Orde, the secretary, as a man of honour and veracity, found it necessary to contradict his Majesty's Attorney General, in open Parliament, by declaring; that *he not only did not believe it to be true, but in several places he knew it not to be true.* And when this law officer of the Crown was shamed out of the clause he had introduced into the bill for preventing tumultuous risings, directing the magistrates to demolish the Roman Catholic chapels, in which any combination should have been formed, or an unlawful oath administered, Mr. Orde, with becoming dignity, declared, that he never would have concurred in such a clause. Mr. Grattan observed upon the extra-official zeal of Mr. Fitzgibbon, *that it was remedying disturbance by irreligion, and establishing it by Act of Parliament.*

In

\* History of Ireland, by the Author, Vol. II. p. 208.



In the year 1788, under the second administration of the Marquis of Buckingham, whom Mr. Pitt had specially selected for effecting his views upon Ireland, on the death of the Duke of Rutland; the county of Armagh was the theatre, on which the managers of the ascendancy most prominently exhibited their newly delegated or usurped power. The county of Armagh is the most Protestant county of Ireland. It is in great part, a species of English colony. The primacy having been usually bestowed upon Englishmen, the consequence was, that whatever church lands could be beneficially demised, came to the hands of the English dependants and favourites of the Primates, as they felt in. The tenants moved not as their patrons died; but attached themselves to the soil, in which they had acquired a valuable interest. They had generally risen from menial situations, and retained a species of extraordinary gratitude for the Church, on the soil of which they lived and thrived. They, like most religionists in their walks of life, manifested their forced zeal, more by their prominent abhorrence and persecution of others; than by the edifying exercise of the tolerant and mild precepts of their own religion. The ancient village feuds and dissensions of the *Peep of Day* boys and defenders, were renewed under the acrimonious distinction of Protestants and Catholics, for the wicked purposes of more lasting division.

Religious  
dissension  
fomented  
in Ar-  
magh.

Lord  
Clare  
made  
Chancel-  
lor.  
Strength  
of the As-  
cendancy  
party.

The death of Chancellor Lifford in 1789 afforded Mr. Pitt an opportunity of rewarding the extraordinary zeal and exertions of the Attorney General, Mr. Fitzgibbon, in the management of the difficult question of the Regency in the preceding year. By appointing him Chancellor, (the first Irishman, that ever filled that station) he assumed credit for being a friend to Ireland; and at the same time secured the house of Lords, as far as the influence of Chancellor and Speaker could weigh. He commanded the Speaker's powers over the House of Commons in Mr. Foster, and he secured in Mr. Beresford the judicious application of all the fiscal douceurs and benefits; of the virtue and extent of which no other man was so cognizant. Mr. Pitt was naturally crafty, implacable and domineering. The disgust, which the aristocracy had shewn at the first mention of Union, roused his haughty soul into an indignant resolution to subjugate them to it by their own timidity and weakness. His lofty spirit had never brooked the independence, which the Irish forced the British senate to acknowledge in 1782. Unrestrained by sympathy, impregnable to friendship, unawed by advice, spurning his opponents, and confident of the profligacy of his adherents, this daring statesman seized the advantage of the disastrous times.

In

In 1791 the government was more alarmed at the sympathies of the Presbyterians in the North with the French revolutionists, than at the dread of Catholic emancipation, although the Presbyterians came cordially forward as the staunch advocates and supporters of that measure. Mr. Pitt's general *nostrum* was to weaken by dividing. Nothing could so effectually put the nation and *Protestant ascendancy* at issue, as the unequivocal determination of the representatives in Parliament not even to listen to their complaints. When, therefore, in 1792, the Catholic's petition was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. O'Hara, he desired not to be considered as its particular patron. Not a member stood forward to oppose its rejection by the House. The insulting outrage of not receiving their petition exasperated the Catholics, and filled their enemies with proportionate confidence. The animosity of each party was consequently sharpened.

Mr. Pitt's  
conduct  
towards  
the Ca-  
tholics.

The triumph of the *Protestant ascendancy* was of short duration. In the next session that very Parliament was directed to grant almost the whole substance of the Petition, which but some months before they had been ordered to reject with insulting contumely. The weakness of the *Protestant ascendancy* was thus exposed, by convincing the nation, that they moved not by their own will or energy,

Mr. Pitt's  
conduct  
to the  
Protes-  
tant par-  
ties, and  
his view  
to Union.

energy, but in servile obedience to foreign authority. It was Mr. Pitt's art to play off and balance the opposite powers against each other, that neither should make head against himself. Ministry and ascendancy became equally alarmed at the rising disposition of the people to enter into a National Union, without regard to religious distinction. Mr. Pitt availed himself of the critical moment, and from that time forward, never ceased to press upon his creatures, the option of *external* or *internal* Union. In the latter the whole *Protestant ascendancy* would be lost: by the former its consequence and profits would be at least partially preserved. Under this system, each party continued for a time to strengthen itself. The Catholics having obtained more than they expected, though not all they looked to from Government, sought to acquire strength and consequence by uniting with the liberal Protestants of every denomination, in their efforts to obtain the great national objects of every real Irishman's wishes. The *Protestant ascendancy* irritated at the concessions made by Government to the Catholics, entrenched itself within a formidable line of exclusion, and vowed eternal inveteracy against the Catholics, even to extermination. With the countenance, aid, and support of the monopolizing *junta*, it arrogated to itself exclusive loyalty, and by effecting to

prop

prop and strengthen the arm of the law, it insolently identified itself with Government, and put the Country at issue.

The year 1794 was particularly important to the interests of Ireland, as far as they were affected by the workings of the *Protestant ascendancy*. So turbulent was then the state of the country, that Mr. Pitt found it requisite to abandon the system of coercion, and confide the reins of Government to a person possessing other qualities, than these of mere subserviency. Lord Westmoreland's recall was resolved upon. The master stroke of Mr. Pitt's policy, was the division of the Whig party in England. That event would not have happened, had not the Duke of Portland been assured by Mr. Pitt, that he and his friends should have the entire management of Ireland, with full authority to redress grievances, reform abuses, and especially, as his grace openly avowed at Court, when he kissed hands on his promotion, to bring forward the question of Catholic Emancipation in the ensuing session.

Turbulence of the country increased. Mr. Pitt divides the Whig party in England.

\* Mr. Foster, who had ever systematically opposed the Catholics, and some of his family were mainly instrumental in raising certain suspicions

False charges against Mr Fay & others.

\* Hist. Rev. of the State of Ireland, 2 vol. 441. & seq.

pitions, which led to the false-charges against Mr. Fay of Navan, Mr. Dowdal, Mr. Bird of Drogheda, and several Catholic Gentlemen of respectability in that neighbourhood, for the murder of the Rev. Mr. Butler, and the general system of *Defenderism*, which had then settled in an open system of lawless robbery. The Catholics had suffered from it more than their Protestant neighbours: and to its suppression they had more generally, and as largely subscribed. The plot appeared deeply laid under great political influence, to stigmatize the body of Catholics, through the crimination of Mr. Fay, and the other Catholic Gentlemen of established respectability. Just providence defeated it by opening to view the base machinations and perjuries of the informer Lynch, and other such miscreants raked out of the neighbouring Goals, who had been hired and suborned to swear away the lives of the victims pointed out. Their honourable acquittal, and the bare-faced exposure of the Conspiracy covered the party with shame, and for a time kept them quiet in these parts of the Country. Of these trials, Mr. Curran \* in  
his

\* This Gentleman, who is the present Master of the Rolls in Ireland, during the whole of his Political Career in Parliament never did an action, in which the staunchest Patriot would not have gloried in concurring, nor uttered a speech, of which the most eloquent might not have boasted,

his place in the Senate, said, " he could speak  
 " as an eye witness, declaring them to be scenes  
 " of more atrocity and horror, than he had ever  
 " seen exhibited in a Court of Justice. It was  
 " what the Catholics might have expected, when  
 " they found their avowed enemies continued in  
 " authority, and the malice of an implacable Go-  
 " vernment left to indemnify itself by vengeance,  
 " what it had lost by law."

It was necessary, that Mr. Pitt should convince his Whig Neophytes of the sincerity of his engagement, to leave the entire reform of Ireland to them. Messrs. Grattan and Ponsonby were therefore sent for, to form the new Irish Administration; and the virtuous Fitzwilliam was selected to meet the eager expectations of the nation. On the other hand, Mr. Beresford went over to England on a counter-project; and by secret negotiations, successfully laid the train, by which Lord Fitzwilliam's instructions to give the Catholic question a handsome support on behalf of Government, were to be counteracted, and the *Protestant ascendancy* was to be made finally to triumph over National Union, Parliamentary Reform, and Catholic Emancipation. This perfidious manoeuvre afforded Mr. Pitt a treble triumph. It exposed the impotency of his Whig proselytes. It displayed

Mr. Pitt's  
conspira-  
cy against  
Catholic  
Emanci-  
pation.

played the extent of his personal authority. It widened the breach between the Catholics and the Protestant ascendancy. From the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, commenced the reign of terror. His successor, whose sole recommendation to the Irish was the name of Camden, from the moment of his landing, manifested as unequivocal symptoms of subserviency to the *triumviri*, as Lord Westmoreland had shewn throughout his whole Government. He threw himself without reserve into their arms: and when affrighted at the shrieks of torture, and nauseated with the fumes of blood, he weakly lamented, that the system had been extorted from him.

Persecution in  
Armagh.

The unexpected triumph of persecuted innocence in Meath drove the baffled party to another scene of action, where their physical force was larger, where their instruments were better organized, and where the magistracy was more generally devoted to their designs. The Protestant County of Armagh, had long been the field of contest, between the *Peep of Day Boys*, and the *Defenders*. This acrimony, which had for some time been soothed into natural repentance and shame at their past errors, was re-kindled by secret agents, and converted into a ferocious warfare of religious contention. The  
ascendancy



ascendancy party was worked into an enthusiastic ebullition of renovated fury, by the Sermon of a Rev. Divine of the Established Church, Mr. Mansell of Portadown, who some days previous to the 1st day of July 1795, had from his pulpit given very marked notice to his congregation, that all persons disposed to celebrate the anniversary of the battle of the Boyne, in the true spirit of the institution, should attend his Sermon on that day. This Evangelical labourer in the vineyard of the Lord of peace so worked up the minds of his audience, that upon retiring from service, on the different roads leading to their respective homes, they gave full scope to the antipapistical zeal, with which he had inspired them; falling upon every Catholic they met, beating and bruising them without provocation or distinction, breaking the doors and windows of their houses, and actually murdering two unoffending peasants, who were digging turf in a bog. This unprovoked atrocity of the Protestants revived and redoubled religious rancour. The flame spread and threatened a contest of extermination.

A like assault was offered to some Catholics of Peaceable the town of Lurgan, but no lives were lost in that affray. Mr. Bernard Coile an eminent Muslin and Cambrick manufacturer, with others

resolutions of the Catholics of Lurgan.

of his Catholic brethren, convened a meeting of the two parishes on the following Sunday, in the Session house, with which for that laudable purpose the Protestant Magistrate had accommodated them. The people were admonished to behave in a peaceable manner, and assured, that in case of assault or injury, they should be fully protected by the arm of the law, provided they took not retaliation or revenge into their own hands. Pacific and loyal resolutions were entered into by the Catholics, and liberal Protestants were invited to do the like. A thousand copies of these resolutions were circulated thro' the district with the happiest effect. Tranquillity and order were preserved for a considerable time on one side of the Bann River.\* But in the

\* Sir Richard Musgrave says, (Memoirs of the different Rebellions, 2d Ed. page 70.) " That in commemoration of that Victory, the first Orange Lodge was formed in the County of Armagh, on the 21st September, 1795, tho' the name of Orange Men existed some time before." It is curious to mark the progress of this veridical historian in his commendation of the Orangemen. In the very next page, he says, the lower class of Protestants of the *Established Church* stood forward at this perilous crisis, &c. Then in page 73. he thinks it right to mention, " that the Orange association should not be confounded, as it has often invidiously been, " with the mutual and disgraceful outrages, which prevailed in " the County of Armagh for many years, between the lowest class

the neighbourhood of Portadown, the animosity of the opposite parties had taken so decided a turn, that the Defenders remained under arms for three days successively, challenging their opponents to fight it out fairly in the field, rather than harrass them with murderous nocturnal visits. On the 21st September, 1795, the Defenders were defeated at the Village of the Diamond by a less numerous, tho' better, organized party of their opponents. On that day the *Peep of Day Boys* dropt that appellation, and assumed the denomination of *Orange-men*: and then was their first Lodge formed.\*

At first, no person of consequence entered the Society. Their original object and obligation were to exterminate the Catholics of Ireland, as far as in them lay. They affected to unite in support of the Constitution, as established by King

Com-  
mencement  
of the  
Orange  
Society.

D 2

William

" class of Presbyterians, under the denomination of the *Peep of Day Boys*, and the Roman Catholics as *Defenders*." As if the Protestants of the Established Church, would have formed themselves into a Club or Society, in commemoration of a Victory, which they had not fought for !

\* So powerful were the effects of these Resolutions, that not one individual Catholic or Protestant from Lurgan was engaged in the Battle of the Diamond.

**William at the Revolution of 1688.** Their great increase and establishment happened in the following year. Detail is requisite, to prove how far the Orange-men have acted up to the spirit of their first Institution, and to shew when, how, and why they changed their original oath of extermination, as will be seen hereafter, into that of supporting conditionally the King, as long as the King should support *the Protestant ascendancy*. The utility of history is the disclosure of facts, which may tend to prevent the miseries, and promote the welfare of the existing and future generations.

Spirit  
and pro-  
gress of  
Orange-  
ism.

Elated with their success at the Diamond, the Orangemen advanced boldly in their work of extermination. They confided in the protection, and boasted of the support of the Magistrates, before several of whom that battle was fought. Not only the profession of the Catholic religion, but connexion with a Catholic by marriage, or dependence upon a Catholic by servitude exposed the individual to the brutal ferocity of these exterminators. Some Magistrates directly promoted, others countenanced and encouraged, and most of them allowed their outrages to be committed with impunity. At that time commenced that dreadful system, which

" Mr.

Mr. Grattan described, as \* “ a persecution  
 “ conceived in the bitterness of bigotry, carried  
 “ on with the most ferocious barbarity by a banditti,  
 “ ditti, who, being of the religion of the State,  
 “ had committed, with the greater audacity  
 “ and confidence, the most horrid murders,  
 “ and had proceeded from robbery and massacre  
 “ to extermination.” “ Those insurgents,”  
 said he, “ call themselves Orangemen, or Protestant  
 “ Boys; that is, a banditti of murderers,  
 “ committing massacre in the name of God,  
 “ and exercising despotic power in the name  
 “ of Liberty.”

In tracing important events to their source, Mr. Giffard the founder of the Orangemen.  
 it is often necessary to attend to circumstances in themselves trivial or contemptible. An apothecary, named Giffard, notorious in the annals of Orangism, had quitted the medical for the military profession, and was then captain in the City of Dublin militia, and quartered at Portadown. He was prominently forward in encouraging the *Peep of Day Boys* against the *Defenders*; and his zealous exertions were not left unrewarded by the renovators of that Crusade. To him are attributed the adoption of the title of Orangemen, their original oath and obligation,

\* Parliamentary Debates for 1796.

gation, and the first regulations, by which they were organized into a Society. As this gentleman was travelling in a public carriage from Newry to Dublin, to take his trial for a breach of the peace, he found himself in company with Mr. Bernard Coile, who has been already mentioned: till then, they had been strangers to each other. In the course of conversation, Mr. Coile observed, that Robespierre was a second Cromwell. Mr. Giffard in part assented; but remarked, that he would forgive Cromwell every thing, but one thing; Mr. Coile asked what that one thing was. Mr. Giffard sharply replied; his not having exterminated the Catholics from Ireland; and concluded with the most solemn avowal of his own efficient and most ardent wishes to effectuate that object. Mr. Coile professing himself to be a Catholic, insisted upon turning Mr. Giffard out of the carriage. The quarrel was patched up by their fellow travellers,\* but the injury was not forgiven. A system of secrecy and seclusion can only be developed by the overt acts of its principal directors. An attentive and impartial view of the sequel will be an unerring guide to the denouement of the piece.

Flushed.

\* These were the late Mr. Page, of Dundalk, and his son, who is still living; Mr. Mac Lelland, the father of the present Baron Mac Lelland; and a Lady. The conversation took place between Dundalk and Drogheda. ●

Flushed with victory, animated with their new appellation, countenanced and protected, as they openly boasted, by the Magistrates and men high in power, the Orangemen harassed and oppressed their Catholic countrymen with uncontrolled ferocity. Mr. Grattan, on a memorable occasion in the House of Commons, when the Attorney General brought forward four resolutions for checking the progress of insurgency and outrage throughout the country, thus described the horrible practices of the Orangemen. — \* “ These insurgents have organized their rebellion, and formed themselves into a Committee, who sit and try the Catholic weavers and inhabitants, when apprehended falsely and illegally, as deserters. That rebellious Committee they call the Committee of Elders, who, when the unfortunate Catholic is torn from his family and his loom, and brought before them in judgment, if he give them liquor or money, they sometimes discharge him, otherwise they send him to a recruiting officer as a deserter. They generally give the Catholics notice to quit their farms and dwellings, which notice they plaister on the house conceived in these short, but plain words, *Go to hell, Connaught won't receive*

\* Viz. on the 20th Feb. 1796. 16 Parl. Debates, 102.

"ceive you. *Fire and Faggot, Wm. Thresham,*  
 "and *John Thrustout.\** They followed these  
 "notices with faithful and punctual execution  
 "of the horrid threat. In many instances they  
 "threw down the houses of the tenantry, or  
 "what they called racked the house, so that the  
 "family must fly or be buried in the grave of  
 "their own cabin. The extent of the murders,  
 "that had been committed by that atrocious  
 "and rebellious banditti he had heard, but not  
 "so ascertained, as to state them to the House :  
 "but from all the inquiries he could make, he  
 "collected, that the Catholic inhabitants of Ar-  
 "magh were actually put out of the protection  
 "of the law ; that the Magistrates had been su-  
 "pine and partial, and that the horrid banditti  
 "had met with complete success, and from the  
 "Magistracy with very little discouragement."  
 General inculcation seldom produces the effect  
 of specific proof.

### Three

\* These exterminating notices varied in form, though they  
 generally concurred in substance, and were equally acted  
 upon. Some were conceived in the laconic words, *Hell or*  
*Connaught*. An eye-witness to many of these horrible scenes  
 has furnished us with another reading of this terrific text.  
 "To Hell or Connaught immediately, or we, Captain Rack-  
 "all and Captain Firebrand will come and destroy you,  
 "and send your souls to hell and damnation."



Three of the Magistrates of Lurgan, Mess. *Lurgan Ford, Brownlow, and Greer*, were, next to Mr. *Verner*, the most prominently conspicuous in forwarding the Orange system. On their estates they had mostly Catholic tenantry, from whom their agents readily obtained, as they did from others, a surrender of their arms. No sooner had this surrender been made, than notice was given to the Orangemen by Mr. Ford, that they would be perfectly safe in plundering that part of the country, where they resided, as the Catholics were there totally disarmed. Accordingly on the following Sunday, they crossed the river Bann in boats, and indiscriminately attacked, plundered and destroyed all the property they knew belonged to Catholics in that district. That their rage was directed against Popery, and not Defenderism, is evident from Mr. Ford's conduct to two of his own most respectable tenants, whose webs and yarns had been destroyed with their houses and furniture. They had applied to him in the natural confidence of tenants in their landlord, who was also a Justice of the Peace \*, to direct them how they should obtain

Lurgan  
Magis-  
trates en-  
courage  
Orange-  
men.

E

redress

\* He was also Collector of the Customs at Dundalk, from which office he was soon afterwards discharged, having been detected in several gross frauds upon the Revenue.... Whilst Mr. Greer was in prison, through the interest of Mr. Foster, he had an additional allowance made to him of £100. per ann. from the Linen Board, with leave to take in his son as assistant inspector.

redress for their sufferings. He shortly told them, if they would read their recantation, and turn Protestants, they should be protected. The surrender of Mr. Ford's tenants arms was made on the Saturday. Early on the next morning he set out for Dundalk, and instantly after his departure, the surrendered arms were put by his servant into the hands of Orangemen, to be employed in exterminating the disarmed owners. The example of Mr. Ford was followed by several other Magistrates.

Conviction of Mr. Greer for denying justice.

A principal part of Mr. Coile's property, then in the hands of weavers in the district of Lurgan, was destroyed by the rioters cutting the webs in the looms, and the yarn on the beams. Mr. Coile applied to Mr. Greer for redress, and he refused to take examinations, or grant warrants against any of the persons concerned in these outrages, who, notwithstanding, had been sworn against by four persons besides the prosecutor. Mr. Greer was prosecuted at the Armagh assizes by Mr. Coile, and found guilty upon four counts, and sentenced to six months imprisonment, and to pay a fine of £200. He was of course stricken out of the Commission of the Peace, and committed to Newgate. But Mr. Greer was a staunch supporter of the *Protestant ascendancy*. His fine was reduced to sixpence.

sixpence. Lord Clare restored him to the Commission of the Peace ; and he was not dispossessed of the office of Inspector General of Ulster, under the Linen Board.

Mr. Coile, whose sufferings for his religion, and his persecuted countrymen were unparalleled, was prevented from bringing several other of the corrupt Magistrates of Armagh to justice by a conspiracy against his life, upon a false charge of high treason. He was warned by his friends so secure safety by flight, for that enough had been sworn against him to take away the lives of an hundred men. Conscious innocence scorned to shun trial, and he instantly applied to Mr. Brownlow, a neighbouring Magistrate, to summon the parties before him, in order to confront them, and prevent the wicked attempt. Mr. Brownlow, with difficulty, granted the warrant for a distant day ; and, in the intermediate time, took the information of some perjured miscreants, who had conspired against the life of Mr. Coile, and, in conjunction with Mr. Obins, committed him to the county gaol, upon the following extravagantly false charge, of being a reputed Papist, distributing a large quantity of ball cartridges amongst a number of Papists, for the purpose of destroying the Protestants, and also at the same time swearing a

Conspiracy  
against  
Mr. Coile.

person to be one of his soldiers, to assist in overthrowing the King, Government, and all Magistrates.

Conspirators retract, and own their crime.

The Rev. Mr. Mansell, the evangelizer of Portadown, before whom the examinations of the conspirators were sworn, induced such of them as were or had been Catholics, to read their recantation before they were examined.\* Mr. Coile was confined above eight months in prison, vainly entreating and urging to be put upon his trial. Four of the conspirators against his life, touched with remorse, deposed, in the mean time, before different magistrates, that they had been suborned to swear falsely against him. Some of them added, that they had been compelled by twelve men, whom they named in their affidavits, to swear false oaths against him, and others, that they had been rewarded for having done so with clothes and money.

How Mr. Coile was prevented from prosecuting other magistrates, and what justice done to Orange delinquents.

Mr. Coile was enlarged without trial, after an imprisonment of eight months. Wishing to prosecute the rest of the conspirators, he was prevented from doing it by the judge, because his own

\* The following is a copy of a certificate given to one James Murray on this occasion: " James Murray of Derry-  
" hesna came before me this day, and renounced the errors  
" of the Church of Rome, and embraced the Protestant faith  
" as by law established." GEORGE MANSSELL. *Drum, Jan.*  
" 13, 1796."

own trial was still hanging over him, whenever it might be expedient for the Crown to bring it forward. This management of justice bespeaks the spirit of those, by whom it was administered. At the spring assizes, in 1796, more than 100 of these exterminating Orangemen were committed for trial: and although by the judges' order the prosecutors and witnesses were escorted, for security, on the high roads by patrols of dragoons, many of them were waylaid, maimed and murdered. Others were intimidated from attending to give evidence, as the juries were from convicting. Notwithstanding these obstructions to justice, eleven of the banditti were found guilty, of whom one only was executed. He was a Protestant dissenter. It was the ordinary and open conversation of these convicts, who were remanded to prison, that if they considered their lives in danger, they would discover the names of their employers in the nefarious business. At the solicitation of the magistrates they were respited from time to time, and at last pardoned, and let loose upon the public to recommence their work of extermination. Mr. Coile, from having prosecuted Mr. Greer to conviction, became a marked victim to the resentment of the Orangemen. He was waylaid, and narrowly escaped with his life. Persecution followed him to Dublin, where his sufferings will be traced in the sequel, not for the sake of the persecuted, individual,

individual, but for the purpose of exhibiting to the nation the spirit and principles of the persecutors.\*

Mischief  
of Orang-  
ism kept  
from the  
public.

The exterminating system was carried on with such alacrity in Armagh, that the passive objects of the persecution were intimidated into silence. Moderate and liberal Protestants wished to suppress the enormities perpetrated by their brethren in faith, under pretence of supporting the *Protestant ascendancy*, and the ferocious instruments of the outrages were prevented by their more bloody instigators from recording them to posterity. Thus, unfortunately, has the public been left in ignorance of the atrocities,† by which

\* Through their influence with the head of the Linen Board, this gentleman, who had hitherto been accommodated like others, in that branch of trade, with the usual advantages of the Hall, was, in an unprecedented manner, deprived of rooms in it for the sale of his goods: he was obliged for that purpose to purchase a house in the neighbouring street, in which he had scarcely been settled, when forty-eight women and children, and four troopers were billeted upon him for ten weeks and four days. The further grievances of this persecuted individual will be noticed, as they occur in the chronological order of the ensuing sheets; as they are all to be traced to the inextinguishable offence of having resisted and punished some of the most prominent zealots of the Orange Institution.

† Dr. Sheridan, the patriotic and enlightened author of the *Unbiased Irishman*, (3d. edition by Coyne, Dublin, 1808.) in

which the Orange spirit was brought into action, embrued in Irish blood, and extended through the Country; sometimes preserved, at others fostered by the hand of power, never put down, and to this hour permitted to exist in defiance of the laws of the land, in violation of the constitution, and contravention of the Act of Settlement. No wonder, that the hands, which secretly directed those inhuman deeds, should be operative in keeping them from the eye of the public. No regular history is to be found of that recent persecution, though so many of the persecuted and persecutors still live to vouch for the truth of the facts.

With

in his introduction to the third edition of his admirable review of Dr. Woodward's *Present State of the Church of Ireland*, occasioned by a recent renewal of that famous publication of the Bishop, (p. 20.) has observed, "that the Catholics have been unpardonably deficient in the use they have made of the freedom of the press. Their shameful indifference with regard to their persecuted brethren in the County of Armagh, will not tell in their favour with an enlightened posterity." And p. 25, he remarks of Mr. Coile, that, "having thus narrowly escaped with his life from this wicked conspiracy, and suffered a loss of his entire property, this gentleman had still spirit enough left to look for redress, and was so fortunate as to be able to expose the system effectually to the nation." He adds, however, this satisfactory information, viz. That "a few days since, (viz. in 1808) the unhappy magistrate deputed a respectable friend to wait on the gentleman he had persecuted, praying forgiveness, and declaring, at the same time, that he had been set on to that bad act by *men high in power*."

Alarming  
progress  
of Orang-  
ism.

With such rapidity did the atrocious fanaticism of the Orangemen spread through the County of Armagh, that in three months from their inauguration on the 21st of September, the very magistrates, who had hitherto countenanced them, were appalled at the consequences of their own concurrence and connivance. On the 21st of February, 1796, Mr. Grattan, in debating the four resolutions of the Attorney General, for quieting the disturbances of the country, which neither mentioned nor referred to the County of Armagh, thus spoke.\* “ This horrid persecution, “ this abominable barbarity, and this general ex- “ termination has been acknowledged by the “ magistrates, who found the evil had proceeded “ to so shameful an excess, that it had at length “ obliged them to cry out against it. On the 28th “ of December thirty of the magistrates came to “ the following resolution, which was evidence “ of the designs of the insurgents, and of their “ success. *Resolved, that it appears to this “ meeting, that the County of Armagh is at “ this moment in the state of uncommon disorder ; “ that the Roman Catholic inhabitants are griev- “ ously appressed by lawless persons unkown, “ who attack and plunder their houses by night, “ and threaten them with instant destruction, “ unless they abandon immediately their lands “ and habitations.*”

That



That was the first of six resolutions proposed by Lord Gosford, whilst governor of the county, to a general meeting of magistrates, for the purpose, as the third of those resolutions expresses, *of stopping the progress of the persecution now carrying on by an ungovernable mob against the Roman Catholic inhabitants of this county.* That noble Lord spoke a written address to the meeting, in which he told them, that he was as true a Protestant as any in the room, and that from holding the situation he did in the county, he was called upon, and would declare his sentiments without fear and without disguise. That meeting of the whole body of the magistracy of the County of Armagh was convened on the 28th of December, 1795, by his Lordship, for the special purpose of concerting measures *the most likely to check the enormities, that had brought disgrace upon the County, and would soon reduce it to the deepest distress.* His Lordship's words to them on that occasion, are the most unimpeachable evidence, that can be resorted to of the nature, spirit and extent of Orangism at that time, which comprized only the first quarterly return of the success of that exterminating society. "It is," said his Lordship, "no secret, that a persecution, accompanied with all the circumstances of ferocious cruelty, which have in all ages distinguished that calamity, is now raging in this County.

Evidence  
of the Ar-  
magh ma-  
gistrates  
against  
the  
Orange-  
men.

Speech of  
Lord Gos-  
ford.

“ Neither age nor sex, nor even acknowledged  
 “ innocence, as to any guilt in the late disturb-  
 “ ances, is sufficient to excite mercy or afford  
 “ protection. The only crime, which the wretch-  
 “ ed objects of this ruthless persecution are  
 “ charged with, is a crime indeed of easy proof :  
 “ *It is simply a profession of the Roman Catholic*  
 “ *faith*, or an intimate connection with a person  
 “ professing that faith. A lawless banditti have  
 “ constituted themselves judges of this new spe-  
 “ cies of delinquency, and the sentence they  
 “ have denounced is equally concise and terrible !  
 “ It is nothing less, than a confiscation of all  
 “ property, and an immediate banishment. It  
 “ would be extremely painful, and surely unneces-  
 “ sary to detail the horrors, that attend the exe-  
 “ cution of so rude and tremendous a proscrip-  
 “ tion. A proscription, that certainly exceeds, in  
 “ the comparative number of those it consigns  
 “ to ruin and misery, every example, that an-  
 “ cient and modern history can supply : for  
 “ where have we heard, or in what story of hu-  
 “ man cruelties have we read of more than half  
 “ the inhabitants of a populous country deprived  
 “ at one blow of the means, as well as of the fruits  
 “ of their industry, and driven, in the midst of  
 “ an inclement season, to seek a shelter for them-  
 “ selves and their helpless families, where chance  
 “ may guide them. This is no exaggerated pic-  
 “ ture of the horrid scenes now acting in this  
 “ country.

"country. Yet surely it is sufficient to awaken  
 "sentiments of indignation and compassion in  
 "the coldest bosoms. These horrors are now  
 "acting with impunity. The spirit of impartial  
 "justice (without which law is nothing better  
 "than an instrument of tyranny) has for a time  
 "disappeared in the county, and the supineness  
 "of the magistracy of Armagh is become a  
 "common topic of conversation in every corner  
 "of the kingdom." His Lordship most evi-  
 dently addressed the Armagh magistracy, under  
 a conscious sense of their feelings and conduct  
 being then pre-occupied by a power and in-  
 fluence different from, and superior to his own.  
 What else could have induced him to add,  
 "conscious of my sincerity in this public de-  
 "claration, which I do not make unadvisedly,  
 "but as the result of mature deliberation, I defy  
 "the paltry insinuations, that malice or party spi-  
 "rit may suggest. I know my own heart, and I  
 "should despise myself, if, under any intima-  
 "tion, I could close my eyes against such scenes,  
 "as present themselves on every side, or my ears  
 "against the complaints of a persecuted people."

Such marked reprobation of the conduct of How Ld.  
 the Orangemen from a nobleman of the respected  
 character and peculiar situation of the late Lord  
 Gosford, is an object of interesting observation.  
 In the summer of 1791, whilst the political  
 power

Gosford  
 appointed  
 governor of  
 Armagh.  
 His up-  
 right spi-  
 rit.

power of Ireland was left in the hands of the monopolizing managers of Lord Westmoreland's administration, they took deep offence at the Earl of Charlemont's partiality for the Protestant dissenters, and in order to thwart or disgust that noble Earl, they appointed Lord Gosford joint governor with him of the County of Armagh. Lord Charlemont's ancestors had, from the reign of Elizabeth, uninterruptedly enjoyed the government of that county. Considering this joint appointment of a co-governor as an insult and an offence, his Lordship resigned. Lord Gosford was, of course, considered a government man: but his honour and integrity were unassailable. His manly opposition to the wicked and dangerous system, which he well knew to be fostered by the ruling power of the state, gave heinous offence at the Castle, which several of their underlings and dependants scrupled not openly to express. In the debate upon the Attorney General's resolutions, Mr. Archdall, an habitual supporter of government, boasted of his habits of intimacy with Lord Gosford, and scrupled not to denounce his Lordship's address most incautious, and such as on reflection he would not approve of.\* He recommended therefore the  
conduct

\* About eight years after this address had been made, the author had the honor of a very long conversation upon the subject with the late Lord Gosford, in which his Lordship  
very

conduct of that nobleman, rather than his publication, as an object of imitation. In the course of the same year, as Mr. Coile was urging the Attorney General to redress his sufferings, he referred to Lord Gosford's address, in order to prove the injustice, which had prevailed in the country; when he was rebuked by that law officer, who warmly panegyrized the government for their conduct in Armagh, and severely censured the noble Viscount for having made himself, much too busy, (he was Lord Lieutenant and principal conservator of the peace of the county.) Mr. Cooke also, in several conferences with Mr. Coile, presumed, in the like official tone of the Castle, to arraign that respected nobleman's conduct as extra-officious and unwarrantable.

At that time the spirit of the government was plainly read in the acts of the legislature. The historian cannot, however, safely extract from them evidence of the facts, upon which they are supposed to have been engrafted.\* The Attorney General brought forward his four resolutions, and the two bills founded upon them, as the mouth piece of the government: and lest there should

Legisla-  
tive acts  
not al-  
ways au-  
thentic  
ground  
for histo-  
ry.

go

explicitly confirmed all the sentiments expressed in that address; but added, that he probably should have done better by making it much stronger; and that Mr. Archdall was unauthorized to make that representation to the Commons

\* At Law, facts recited in an act of parliament prove themselves.

g down to posterity any authentic trace of the outrages of their protected exterminators, he cautiously kept out of the resolutions, and out of the acts, the very name of the County of Armagh,\* though at that time labouring under more turbulence and outrage, than any other part of Ireland. These resolutions and bills were expressly introduced for the purpose of giving extraordinary powers to the magistrate to put down extraordinary turbulency in the country; yet would it be impossible for the future historian to collect from the record of those acts of parliament, the slightest evidence of the county of Armagh having been at that time disturbed by an exterminating banditti, who drove the whole Catholic population of the county from their homes, merely because they professed the Roman Catholic Religion.

The debates in Parliament the only historical source of information.

The debate in the House of Commons upon the passing of those bills is the chief historical source

\* Notwithstanding this studied caution to keep the name of Armagh, and any specific reference to those Protestant outrages out of the acts, yet it is evident, that as far as the indemnity of the magistrates went, the legislators had their eyes anxiously rivetted to the whole persecution of Armagh, up to that hour. They meant not to leave the Armagh magistracy uncovered, even for a moment. The indemnity was made to operate inclusively from the 1st day of July, 1795, that notorious day, on which Mr. Mansell so successfully opened his extraordinary mission at Portadown.

source of information for the truth of the Armagh persecution. The suppression of the very nature of the Orange delinquency by the Attorney General, spoke a language too clear to be misunderstood by any man of impartiality. The protecting tenderness for this Prætorian guard of the *Protestant ascendancy* went to complete impunity. Mr. George Ponsonby, in urging the amendment proposed by Mr. Grattan, said, that "the enormities, which the governor of that county had declared, exceeded any, that ever disgraced any country, were such as the existing laws were not calculated fully to reach: they were of that kind, that a fair and impartial Government should be glad to catch at every opportunity to prevent. If Administration were sincere in wishing to protect the unfortunate sufferer in that county, as they were to punish offenders in other parts, they would not hesitate for one moment to adopt the amendment."

That amendment was to make it obligatory (not leaving it optional, as the bill did) on the county to pay the countryman, whether labourer or manufacturer, full compensation for his damages and losses to his person, family, or dwelling, suffered in consequence of violent mobs. Mr. Grattan observed, that if the compensation were left optional to the grand jury, nothing would be done.

Nature of proposed amendment to the Attorney General's bill.

That

That the grand jury would readily present for damages suffered by magistrates or witnesses; but they probably would not, in the county of Armagh particularly, give any adequate, or indeed any satisfaction for the losses sustained by the Catholic weaver or peasant; and therefore it was not enough, that grand juries should have the power; it was indispensable to impose the obligation. Government trifled with the northern weaver, when it sent him for satisfaction to a grand jury composed of those very magistrates, whose supineness or partiality or bigotry had been the cause of his losses and his emigration. The bill, as framed, contained no remedy for such a case. In the different preambles the grievance was not set forth: in the various provisions no remedy was comprehended. The bill proposed to give extra powers to magistrates; this might be very effectual, as to certain parts of the country: but what was the grievance of Armagh? That the magistrates had not used the ordinary powers, and in some cases had abused those powers in such a manner, that the subject had not been protected, and the rioter had been encouraged. Without such an obligatory clause the bill was not faithful to its own principle. Unless amended, it would be a bill of partial coercion and partial redress: it punished (as it stood) disturbance in one part of the kingdom: it compromised disturbances in another;



another ; it protected the magistrates, and left exposed the poor of the North. It says, if you murder a Magistrate, you shall pay his representatives : but if you drive away whole droves of weavers in Armagh, you shall pay nothing, except those persons please, by whose fault they have been driven away, and scattered over the face of the earth. Without such amendment the bill would give no redress to the sufferers in Armagh. It was contended by ministers, that the existing law sufficed to repress the disturbances in Armagh. It certainly did to a certain extent punish the offences committed there: it equally punished the offences committed elsewhere. But it was unfounded to say, that the existing law punished those offences in such a summary manner, as was necessary to restrain them in Armagh. The bill did not look at their case.

In debating the Insurrection Bill,\* Sir Laurence Parsons grievously lamented the discontent, which it must necessarily create in the county of Armagh, by enabling the Magistrate to send out of the kingdom any man he might think guilty. " In that county it had been frequently proved on oath, that several Magistrates refused to take the examinations of the  
 O " injured

\* Vid. Parliamentary Debates of these times.

" injured Catholics. By some of those Magis-  
 " trates, they had been most cruelly persecuted :  
 " others would hear them only out of the win-  
 " dow, and some actually turned them from the  
 " doors with threats. If such men were to be  
 " entrusted with a power of transporting men  
 " at pleasure, what was there to be expected,  
 " but the most gross and flagrant violation of  
 " justice." In the same debate, Colonel (now  
 General) Craddock assured the House, that he  
 had lately been sent down to that part of the  
 country with the most decided instructions from  
 Government to act with equal\* justice to all  
 offenders. He had been assisted by General  
 Nugent, and such was the nature of the dis-  
 turbance, that after repeated consideration, they  
 could see no possible way, in which the troops  
 could be employed : he therefore recommended  
 his recall in letters to Government, as he thought  
 he could be of no use. He admitted, that the  
 conduct of the Protestants, called *Peep of Day*  
*Boys* (then calling themselves Orangemen), in  
 the county of Armagh, was at that time most  
 atrocious, and that their barbarous practices  
 must certainly be put down.

With

\* This marked redundancy in the orders of Government  
 bespeaks doubt, consciousness, or charge that equal and im-  
 partial justice had not been previously administered in those  
 parts. The order would otherwise have been an insult to the  
 officer, who received it.

With this evidence before their eyes, the House of Commons passed the bills without the amendment, which was proposed for the sole purpose of meeting the case of the Orange insurgency in Armagh; and without any provision of remedy, or even reference to that evil; and with discretionary powers of transportation vested in those *very* Magistrates, whom the governor of the county had charged to their faces with having permitted unprecedented horrors to be committed with impunity, and made their own supineness the common topic of conversation in every corner of the kingdom. Thus the unparalleled outrages of the Orangemen within the first three months of their institution are historically verified: and the record of Parliament proves the sympathetic tenderness of Government in screening them from the operation of laws, which the Attorney General, on the 28th of January, 1796, in his place in the Commons avowed, was (however reluctant to his feelings) *a bloody penal code.*

The Session of that Parliament, in which the bills for putting down insurgency and indemnifying the Magistrates, who had exceeded the law in their endeavours to keep the peace were passed, closed on the 15th of April, 1796, when his Excellency warmly commended the vigorous measures they had adopted for the suppression of

Insurgency and Indemnity Bills passed.

Partiality for Orangemen and their triumph.

of insurrection and outrage, and the wise provisions they had made for preventing the extension of similar offences. The popular feeling out of Parliament was not regulated by that of the majority within it. Amaze and indignation were general, that the crimes of the Defenders, then on the wane, should be visited, with that new and unheard of severity, whilst the atrocities of the Orangemen, then raging with increasing fury, were so tenderly protected from its rigor. This impression upon the public mind was faithfully represented by Mr. Grattan in the House of Commons, when that *new bloody code*, as the Attorney General called it, was debated.\*

“It had been said by the mover of the resolutions, that of the Defenders multitudes had been hanged, multitudes had been put to death on the field, and though suppressed, they were not extinguished. But with regard to the outrages of the Orange Boys, he would make no such boast. On the contrary, they had met with impunity, and success and triumph. They had triumphed over the law, they had triumphed over the Magistrates, and they had triumphed over the people. There persecution, rebellion, inquisition, murder, robbery, devastation and extermination had been entirely victorious.”

So

\* Parliamentary Debates, *ubi supra*.

So much had been said in Parliament uncon- Address tradicted about the outrageous persecution of of the Grand Armagh, and so generally did the public believe, Jury of Armagh as the fact was, that about 7000 Catholics had self-adu- latory. been exterminated by the Orange faction, which was certainly in most instances unchecked by the Magistrates, and claimed in all to be supported by Government, that their sympathizing protection found it prudent to attempt to soften the public indignation, and send forth some public document to counteract the effects of Lord Gosford's address to the magistracy of that county. At the Lent Assizes, the Sheriff, Governor, and Grand Jury of the county of Armagh, published an address to the Lord Lieutenant, and two resolutions of a peculiar nature. They thanked his Excellency for his readiness to afford military aid on occasion of the disturbances, that in some places had unfortunately prevailed. They then regretted the late disturbances; and as the *Grand Jury of the county had always discharged their duty with rigorous and impartial justice*, so they would continue their exertions to punish offenders of every denomination, and would lament the necessity of adopting the rigor of the Acts of the late Session of Parliament. Their first resolution was to thank the Sheriff for his *very proper conduct*; the second to thank the Attorney General for his very able speech: for the candor and unwearied exertions, with which he

he conducted the prosecutions, and his readiness to communicate on every occasion with the grand jury. No thanks were voted to the governor, nor did the address specify or refer to any one of the appropriate outrages of the County of Armagh, religious dissensions, conflagrations, papering, racking, devastation, depopulation or extermination. Their assurances to his Excellency, that they would, in future, exercise impartial justice upon offenders of every denomination, was rather unseasonable, when they had actually then exterminated the whole Catholic population of the county. The flimsy delusion of this self adulatory address was seen through and contemned.

Government  
finds the  
Orange-  
men use-  
ful.

A system \* of sworn secrecy and state mystery is only to be developed by piecemeal, from accumulative

\* The mischief of a system may be illustrated by hypothesis, as strongly as by facts. Be it then supposed (against the fact) that a cabinet secret had transpired through cabinet oaths of secrecy. Credit might then be given to current reports, which now *must* be disbelieved, because they could not have been divulged, that Lord Camden had been advised in council to ensure the tranquillization of Ireland by one of three measures. 1st. By granting complete emancipation to the Catholics. 2dly. By re-enacting the old penal laws. 3dly. By exterminating them from the face of the country. That his Excellency was by his instructions compelled to reject the first : that he personally loathed the second : that he revolted at the third, as an impossibility. Not so : said the most active

cumulative circumstances, that lead to a conclusion of moral certainty The society of Orangemen

tive member of that cabinet. I engage to furnish 30,000 men armed and eager to atchieve the work. Was it for such a purpose that Orangemen were found so eminently useful? If their conduct entitled them to so much merit at the end of the first six months, to what pretensions will not their subsequent merits of full fourteen years give claim? Whoever looks at their conduct through all that intermediate space of time will trace an identity of spirit and action at the opening and closing of the period. Mr. Curran has appropriately said, (*Speech in Hecy v. Sirr*) "When you endeavour to convey an idea of a great number of barbarians practicing a great variety of cruelties upon an incalculable multitude of sufferers, nothing defined or specific finds its way to the heart, nor is any sentiment excited, save that of a general erratic unappropriated commiseration." In 1795 there lived in the county of Armagh a Mr. James Verner, by profession an attorney, by trade a magistrate, and by commission a parliament-man, nominated by Lord Northland for the borough of Dungannon. He then was, as he still continues to be prominently conspicuous for depressing and persecuting the Catholics. His uncle, who was also an attorney, had by professional and other means realized a very considerable landed estate in those parts, which he had devised to a younger son of Mr. James Verner, then an infant. Amongst other exploits of this purple Orangeman, he eviscerated the estate of his own son, by ruining and exterminating ninety six Catholic families, who were tenants upon it. Mr. James Verner's corps of yeomanry displayed their zeal and prowess on their way to church on a Sunday, by firing amongst a congregation of Catholics, whilst attending the rites of their own religion, wounding several, and some mortally,

men had not subsisted six full months, when the Attorney General's *bloody penal code* was under discussion. They were then unknown out of Armagh, and were known in it only by their deeds of blood, waste and extermination. There, however, a leading magistrate of that county, from the ministerial side of the house, roundly affirmed, that the conduct of the Orangemen had been eminently useful. The assertion was neither contradicted nor qualified from the treasury bench. They were thenceforth taken into the

tally, and on their return from church on the same day, razing to the ground the Catholic chapel, which had been only four years erected within a quarter of a mile of the parish church of Tartarahan. The demolition was performed in the presence of Mr. Obery the magistrate, whose two sons were actively employed in it, and converted the principal timber into looms for their own use. These two young Messrs. Obery were in the habits of selling written protections to such Catholics, as could pay weekly prices for them; and after their cash was exhausted, they took the price of their protections in yarn. Upon the failure of that, they withheld them, and left the impoverished weavers to the general fate of their exterminated brethren. In 1806, Constantine O'Neil, a Catholic hatter, was burnt out of his house and shot at by a set of Orangemen, headed, as he charged, by two of the young Messrs. Verner, and under the protection of Mr. James Verner. The clerk of the assistant barrister, before whom O'Neil had been advised by a magistrate of a neighbouring county to lay his depositions, turned him out of doors with threats, for applying to him to take examinations against his particular friends Messrs. Verner. (See Wilson's Correspondence, 5th Edit p. 14, and throughout.)



the pupillary embraces of Government, and acquired influence, strength and permanency. Could a more dangerous engine fall into the hands of bad ministers?

The grand policy of government was then, as it still is, to resist the Catholic claims, and depress the friends of parliamentary reform. It was fearfully alarmed at the extension of a spirit of liberality and union amongst Irishmen of different religious persuasions. With a view to counteract the effects of such Union, recourse was had to the old and fatal principle of division, for which no fitter instruments could be found, than a society of merciless fanatics excluding the bulk of the population of their country as enemies, thirsting for their blood, and sworn to exterminate them, as far as in them lay. Would it be a rash, though harsh conclusion, that from complacency in the outrages of the Armagh persecution, government took to their embraces the associated perpetrators of its horrors? Certainly, upon the actual extermination of the Catholic population from part of that county,\* government

Bad effects of government's encouraging the Orange-men.

\* Where falsehood and misrepresentation are resorted to by government, the practice cannot be too broadly exposed. Wise policy never leans on untruth. It has been the art of those, who stimulated and fostered the Armagh persecution

vernment anxiously propagated them throughout the realm, and promoted the formation of new lodges with its power and influence. Is it in nature, to lay this eager adoption of the Orangemen to any other views, than those of enlarging the field of action for keeping up division in the people, inflaming religious discord, and turning the public mind from the pursuit of constitutional objects? Had not this been the result of their conduct in Armagh? These wicked projects in great part defeated their own ends, by encouraging and extending the cause of internal Union. It was avowed by the three chiefs,\* of the United Irishmen, at a time and under circumstances, which precluded the temptation to deceive, that, "to the Armagh persecution was "the union of Irishmen most exceedingly indebted." They give the reason in detail, and then

cutions, to reduce the numbers of the victims far below the reality. A list of them was made out by the late Mr. Stuart of Acton, and the Rev. Mr. Stuart of Armagh. The total of the exterminated individuals exceeded 7000. That black monument of Orange atrocity ought to be found in the Castle of Dublin. The person, who delivered it to Mr. Cooke, to be deposited there, assured the author, that he well knew the country so depopulated, which covered an extent of thirteen miles by eleven, had examined the list, and had every reason to give full credit to its accuracy.

\* Messrs. O'Connor, Emmett, and M'Nevin—their memoir.

then add: " We solemnly aver, that whenever  
 " the Orange system was introduced, particular-  
 " ly in Catholic counties, it was uniformly ob-  
 " served, that the numbers of United Irishmen  
 " increased most astonishingly. The alarm,  
 " which an Orange lodge excited amongst the  
 " Catholics, made them look for refuge, by  
 " joining together in the United system: and as  
 " their number was always greater, than that of  
 " bigotted Protestants, our harvest was tenfold.  
 " At the same time that we mention this circum-  
 " stance, we must confess, and most deeply re-  
 " gret, that it excited a mutual acrimony, and  
 " vindictive spirit, which was peculiarly oppo-  
 " site to the interest, and abhorrent to the feel-  
 " ings of the United Irishmen."

The great encrease of the Orange Institution Original  
 took place in the year 1796. Since that time obligation of  
 it has been invariably countenanced by govern- Orange-  
 ment. Fitting then, it is, that the Orangemen men.  
 should be made known by their fruits.\* Secrecy

H 2

has

\* It may not be here improper to notice, that this intro-  
 ductory disquisition is not intended to be a regular history of  
 the Orange societies, since their institution up to the present  
 hour: but its object is to prove, that these unconstitutional,  
 and most dangerous societies have, from their cradle, been  
 used as the mischievous engines for thwarting the wishes, and  
 counteracting the peace and prosperity of Ireland: and con-  
 sequently, that their existence is incompatible with the se-  
 curity

has ever been the soul of Orangism. And considering the nature of the obligation, which it appears

curity and integrity of the British empire. It would be irregular in this introduction to anticipate the detail of what will form a part of the history we have in hand. In order, however, to keep the reader's mind alive and attentive to the similarity, or rather identity of the latter and first fruits of Orangism, we generally refer to, without detailing the extraordinary facts contained in Mr. Wilson's Correspondence and Narrative, published in 1806 and 1808, by Mr. King, of Westmoreland street, Dublin, the former of which has gone through five editions, and the latter two. Be it not forgotten, that this gentleman is a Protestant, that he has been a member of the British Parliament, was an intimate friend of Lord Eldon, has family connections with the Duke of Richmond, and was a magistrate for the county of Tyrone. They terribly verify all, and more than was said by Lord Gosford, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Curran, and other patriotic witnesses to truth in their country's cause. It is impossible to read them without a bleeding heart for the personal sufferings of the writer, without sympathy for the poor outlawed and persecuted Catholics, without indignation at the tyrannical usurpation of the Orangemen, and without disdainful horror of their abettors. They demonstrate the fostering sympathies of government with the Orangemen, and the most abandoned co-operation of the arm of power in feats of outrage. Mr. Wilson has been immolated for resisting Orange barbarity: but the suckling would see, that he has spoken nothing but the truth. Had he slipped into the shallowest rut of falsity, the arm of legal rigour would long since have reached the man, who had publicly dared to charge government with oppression, three chancellors with dissimulation and injustice, a peer with falsehood, nine out of ten brother magistrates with corruption and tyranny, and Orange juries and witnesses with unalicious and habitual perjury. *Magna est veritas & pravelebit.*

appears from strong evidence, the original Orangemen first entered into, no wonder they enveloped their mysteries in darkness, and often prevented disclosure by blood. The frequency and combination of systematic circumstances at distant times and places, give strength to conjecture and report. This species of circumstantial and combined evidence is however offered only as auxiliary to that, which it is the duty of the historian to submit, and leave to the judgment of his reader.\* It has been asserted by well

\* In matters acrimoniously contested by adverse parties, the bare assertion of either party will not settle the point at issue. But there are circumstances, under which the concessions of one party, rather bearing against than in favour of the conceding party, approach nearly to conclusion. Messrs. O'Connor, Emmet and M'Nevin declare in their memoir, in disclosing the purport of the most important meeting of the Irish union, at the middle of the year 1796, that "they considered themselves bound to give an account of it with the utmost frankness, and more than ordinary precision." The following part of their report is too interesting to be suppressed. "The provocation of the year 1794, the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, and the reassertion of coercive measures that followed it, were strongly dwelled on. The county of Armagh had been long desolated by contending factions, agreeing only in one thing: an opinion, that most of the active magistrates in that country treated one party with the most fostering kindness, and the other with the most rigorous persecution. It was stated, that so marked a partiality exasperated the sufferers and those, who sympathized in their misfortunes. It

was

well informed (though anonymous) authors, that the original obligation, or oath of Orangemen was to the following effect: *I, A. B. do swear, that I will be true to king and government; and that I will exterminate the Catholics of Ireland, as far as in my power lies.* The frequency and earnestness, with which the latter part of the oath has been acted upon by Orangemen, has rendered the charge of taking it too credible. It has, however, been denied and disclaimed by several individuals of the Orange party. Unless Lord Clare and the Secret Committee, which acted under his direction had either distinctly known, or had good grounds for believing, that the oath of extermination had been usually taken by the Orangemen, they would have hardly questioned Mr. O'Connor in 1798, whether government had any thing to do with their oath of extermination?

Had

“ was urged with indignation, that notwithstanding the  
 “ greatness of the military establishment in Ireland, and  
 “ its having been able to suppress the Defenders in various  
 “ counties, it was not able, or was not employed to suppress  
 “ those outrages in that county, which droye 7000 persons  
 “ from their native dwellings. The magistrates, who took  
 “ no steps against the Orangemen, were said to have over-  
 “ leaped the boundaries of the law to pursue and punish the  
 “ Defenders. The Government seemed to take upon them-  
 “ selves these injuries by the indemnity act, and even ho-  
 “ noured the violator: and by the insurrection act, which  
 “ enabled the same magistrates if they chose, under colour  
 “ of law, to act anew the same abominations.”

Had that Committee doubted of the fact, they would have asked Mr. O'Connor, whether the Orangemen had ever administered such an oath? The more so, as it could not have been unknown to the Committee, that Mr. O'Connor had in the preceding year either written, or received the credit of writing a pamphlet entitled *The present state of Ireland*, in which that form of the Orange oath of extermination was given as authentic.

The Orangemen had done their work in Armagh too much to the satisfaction of their rulers to be disbanded, reduced, or put upon half-pay. Some sort of varnish was to be laid over the atrocity of their deeds, and an Act of Parliament was passed for the relief of the injured Catholics of Armagh. As it left the redress to the discretion of the Grand Jury, composed chiefly of the very magistrates\* who had injured them, it gave, as was to be expected, but little satisfaction to the country. Division and exter-

\* Some time after this period Mr. Greer, who had been convicted, and suffered six months imprisonment for corruption and perjury in his office as Justice of the Peace in favouring the Orangemen against the Catholics, was the acting Secretary of the Grand Jury at the Armagh assizes. On that occasion he told one Blacker a principal sufferer, who applied to him to have his petition sent up, that he was too much connected with Belfast to have any thing done for him. Blacker obtained no redress.

extermination were objects too near the hearts of the protecting friends of the Orangemen, not to retain them in their service, as long as they kept those objects in view. As the Orangemen moved out of Armagh, they not only carried with them their native spirit, which had been so powerfully destructive in the county, that gave it birth, but they were every where preceded by a glowing pillar of encouragement and remuneration. Objects of their persecution increased, as they extended their progress: and the chief difficulty of their task-masters has ever since been, to check their lust for outrage, lest it might force into action the physical power of their enemies, and invert the system of extermination.

**Firmness  
of Mr.  
Coile in  
demand-  
ing re-  
dress, and  
bringing  
to light  
the form  
of the  
oath of  
Orange-  
men.**

Mr. Coile has been already spoken of, as the only Catholic of Armagh, who had the firmness to resist and make a stand at law against the desperate depredations of the banditti. He did it with intrepidity and perseverance, in defiance of conspiracies, perjury, and the dagger of the assassin. To him is it owing, that the secret oath or obligation of the Orangemen came to light. When he had providentially escaped several attempts upon his life in Armagh, he settled himself in Dublin, where he presented a petition, setting forth all his sufferings to the Lord Lieutenant. His Excellency referred it to Mr.

Pelham



Pelham (now Earl of Chichester), his Secretary : and he referred it to Mr. Cooke, an Under-Secretary, who was generally the ostensible organ of the ruling men in power, through which the operations of the Orangemen were generally directed and managed. He was, in the current phrase, a faithful servant of the Castle†. Mr. Coile was admitted

† This Mr. Cooke is no Irishman, though much confided in at that time by Mr. Beresford and Mr. Foster, and used by Lord Clare as a serviceable tool for all his projects. He was the writer or procurer of many anonymous pamphlets, which it was the policy of the party to publish from time to time, to promote either internal division or external union. The confidence, lucrative situations, and active employment of this gentleman, under the abettors of that party up to the present hour, are the historical proofs of their sense of his utility and merit. The sense, which other persons of high respectability entertained of them was rather different. When Lord Fitzwilliam commenced his short administration in Ireland, he was about to remove Mr. Beresford from office ; of which measure, so fatal to the triumvirate, he gives the following account in his letter to Lord Carlisle. " On my arrival here, I found all those apprehensions of his dangerous power, which Mr. Pitt admits I had often represented to him, were fully justified ; when he was filling a situation greater, than that of the Lord Lieutenant ; and when I clearly saw, that if I had connected myself with him, it would have been connecting myself with a person under universal heavy suspicions, and subjecting my government to all the opprobrium and unpopularity attendant upon his mal-administration. What was then to be my choice ; what the decision I had to form ? I could not hesitate a moment. I decided at once not to cloud the dawn of my administration, by leaving it  
" such

admitted to several interviews with Mr. Cooke, at some of which the Attorney General assisted. Mr. Cooke affected to express astonishment and indignation at the information he then received of the Orangemen's oath of extermination. He was assured, that he had it in his power to ascertain the fact, by examining on oath one Bernard Cush, of the 5th Dragoons, then quartered at Carlow, who had been induced, with others, to conspire against Mr. Coile's life: but who, touched with remorse, had disclosed the whole matter to a magistrate. He was sent for by Government, and in the presence of Mr. Cooke, deposed upon oath, as he had before the country magistrate, not only, that such was the form of the Orangeman's oath, which was tendered to him, and which he refused to swear, but which five others concerned in the conspiracy had actually subscribed to in his presence. Mr. Cooke, after

"such power and authority so much imputed malversation." Lord Fitzwilliam began his government by removing two clerks from office, placed in a situation of confidence, but perfectly subordinate, and of no ostensibility. Neither his Excellency, nor his chief Secretary, with whom they were in hourly intercourse, felt inclined to repose confidence in them. One of these was Mr. Cooke, of whom his Lordship thus writes to Lord Carlisle. "Mr. Cooke indeed, whose tone and style rendered his approach to a superior not to be supported, rejects my proposals in his favor, and thinks a retreat upon 1200*l.* a year an inadequate recompence for the magnitude and importance of his services."

after having taken the depositions of Cush, pledged himself to Mr. Coile, that Government would immediately have the conspirators apprehended and prosecuted, indemnify him for all his losses, and reward him moreover for his very proper conduct in the whole of the affair. The conspirators were not apprehended : Mr. Coile's losses were not made good to him ; he was not rewarded ; but continued to be an object of persecution as much at Dublin, as he had been in Armagh. When at another time he remonstrated with Mr. Cooke upon the impropriety of Government having discharged Trimble, the notorious murderer of several Catholics in Armagh, Mr. Cooke declared, that Government had been greatly imposed upon by the magistrates of Armagh ; that Trimble was then on board a transport off Cork, and Mr. Under-Secretary pledged his honor, that he should be brought on shore and punished. It ended in promise.

It is incumbent upon us to throw all the daylight we can collect upon the mysterious secrecy of Orangism. We rarely conceal what we blush not to reveal. It will rest in the breast of the impartial reader what weight he gives to Mr. O'Connor's answer to the Secret Committee of the Commons, on the 16th of August, 1798, when the following presumptive interrogatory

Further proofs of the oath of extermination.

was put to him : as it is reported in Mr. O'Connor's and his associates Memoir.\*

“ *Committee.* Government had nothing to do with the Orange system, nor their extermination?”

Testimony of Mr. O'Connor.

“ *O'Connor.* You, my Lord Castlereagh, from the station you fill, must be sensible, that the Executive of any country has it in its power to collect a vast mass of information ; and you must know from the secret nature and the zeal of the Union, that its Executive must have the most minute information of every Act of the Irish Government. As one of the Executive, it came to my knowledge, that considerable sums of money were expended throughout the nation, in endeavouring to extend the Orange system, and that the oath of extermination was administered. When these facts are coupled, not only with general impunity, which has been uniformly extended towards the acts of this infernal association, but the marked encouragement its members have received from Government, I find it impossible to exculpate the Government from being the parent and protector of these sworn extirpators.”

Further evidence.

Were the object of our present research, to ascertain the rise, progress, and seats of a faction

\* Mem. 55. published by P. Robinson, London, 1802.

tion or society, (however useful or mischievous to the country) that existed no more, much detail of evidence might be spared: much observation avoided; many inferences suppressed. But the Society of Orangemen still subsists in the lustful enjoyment of its primeval spirit: it is rendered less objectionable by more plausible and ambiguous tests, and is strengthened by new rules and regulations artfully adapted to fascinate the vulgar into a blind obedience to the most sanguinary commands. *Fas est & ab hoste doceri.*—When Mr. O'Connor was examined by the Secret Committee, he declared, that the Union saw with sorrow, that the cruelties practised by the Irish Government had raised a dreadful spirit of revenge in the hearts of the people: and that they saw with horror, that to answer their immediate views, the Irish Government had renewed their old religious feuds. “ But,” said he, “ those, who had monopolized the whole  
“ political power of the Constitution, finding,  
“ that they stood in need of some of the popu-  
“ lation, and from their monopoly, so directly  
“ opposite to the interest of all classes of the  
“ Irish nation, they could not hope for the sup-  
“ port of any (be their religion what it might)  
“ on the score of politics, except those in the  
“ pay of Government. Finding how necessary  
“ it was to have some part of the population on  
“ their side, they had recourse to the old religi-  
“ ous

“ous feuds, and set an organization of Protestants, whose fanaticism would not permit them to see they were enlisted under the banners of religion, to fight for political usurpation, which they abhorred.”

Impunity  
and protection of  
Orangemen.

Whatever may be asserted by the Orangemen and their abettors, of their own impartiality, and of that of Government, certain it is, that notwithstanding the duration and extent of the outrages committed during the preceding 12 months by the Orangemen in Armagh, and the adjoining counties, no statute proclamation or resolution of a public body either specified or punished their offences: no perpetrator of the peculiar crimes of papering, racking and exterminating had been punished: not a single Magistrate had been stricken out of the commission, (except Mr. Greer, who was restored to it) although numbers of them were\* known to have connived

\* In debating upon the Liberty of the Press in the House of Commons, in 1798, Mr. Vandeleur spoke of the Orangemen of Armagh in this extraordinary manner:—“He was astonished, they should be still countenanced and supported by Ministers, though the first Law Officer of the Crown held their excesses, and the conduct of those Magistrates, who countenanced them so much in hatred, that he declared, could he have found other men of sufficient loyalty in the county to fill their places, he would have removed every one of them from the Magistracy.” Will posterity

connived at and encouraged those outrages: and several of them were rewarded with commands in the Yeomanry Corps, and otherwise favoured by Government.

It is not to be imagined, that the atrocious spirit of Orangism confined itself merely to the county of Armagh. It met with too much encouragement elsewhere from persons, whose influence might, as it ought, to have repressed its progress. In the adjoining counties of Tyrone, Antrim, and Down the Catholics were hunted from their dwellings, their chapels razed or burnt, and their property was plundered or destroyed with impunity. Two brothers, industrious tenants of Lord Hertford, Catholics, by name Brangan, were burnt with their whole family, consisting of eight persons, and the house and furniture, whilst the savage Orangemen encircled the flames to prevent escape. Lord Hertford was then in Lisburne. Instant investigation and exemplary rigor were threatened. No punishment ensued. It is to be lamented, that the Orange system was so zealously encouraged from the pulpit. The Rev. S. Cupples,

posterity credit, that the man, who in open Senate, dared to avow those sentiments, was the person, who restored Mr. Greer to the Commission of the peace, after his conviction?

" Yeomen, the majority of whom were Presby-  
 " terians, and there were about 4,200 Orange-  
 " men among them." He has greatly exagger-  
 rated the proportionate number of Presbyterian  
 Orangemen. It is unquestionable, that the Pres-  
 byterians generally abhorred the principles of  
 the Orangemen: but it is also certain, that  
 many of them were sworn into their societies.  
 They were however chiefly of the lower orders,  
 who depended for their subsistence upon their  
 landlords. Several persons of great landed in-  
 terest in those parts insisted upon their Protes-  
 tant tenants and labourers becoming Yeomen and  
 Orangemen. Such were the Marquis of Hert-  
 ford, Marquis of Abercorn, Lord Northland, the  
 Earl of Londonderry, Mr. Cope, Messrs. Brown-  
 low and Richardson, members for the county  
 of Armagh, and other possessors of great landed  
 estates in Ulster. It is remarkable, that the  
 parish of Carmoney, in the county of Antrim,  
 near Belfast, is inhabited by above 15,000 Pres-  
 byterians not immediately under such controul,  
 and not an Orangeman was ever known amongst  
 them. Few, if any Presbyterians of independ-  
 ence entered their societies. When the Catho-  
 lics were first expelled from Armagh, many of  
 them fled for protection and support to Belfast,  
 where the Presbyterians made a stock-purse, and  
 by weekly allowances, in proportion to the num-  
 bers of the exterminated families, supported them  
 till



till they could procure work or settlement. Many of them were enabled to pass over to Scotland, and were encouraged to settle in the neighbourhood of Glasgow and Paisley. This was the beginning of that colony of Irish in that part of Scotland, which at this time is computed to amount nearly to 20,000. The thriving state of the manufactures in the west of Scotland ensured constant employ to the industrious; and the oppression and persecution at home have caused an unceasing emigration of useful hands from Ireland to Scotland.

When in the Autumn of 1796, Mr. Pelham had boasted in Parliament, that Government since the last Session had been exculpated by the Magistrates of Armagh, and that every effort was making there to restore that order, which was approaching every day; Mr. Grattan not ineptly replied, that the persecution had been complained of for years, and the application of the remedy was spoken of only as from the last Session. He further added, that “the audacity of the mob arose from a confidence in the connivance of Government. Under an administration sent thither to defeat a Catholic bill, a Protestant mob very naturally conceived itself a part of the State, and exercised the power of life and death and transportation and murder and rape with triumph;”

Mr. Pelham's  
boast of  
the vigilance of  
Government.

"and with the seeming sympathy with the Court religion, the Magistrates retired from the scene of action." As a General Election was then approaching, an invitation was sent from the City of Armagh, (Sir Richard Musgrave says,\* it *belonged to the Primate*) to Mr. Pelham and Dr. Duigenan to offer themselves candidates for that City in the ensuing Parliament: a circumstance, which riveted in the minds of the mass of the people the firmest conviction, that the impunity of those fanatic exterminators of Armagh was the immediate effect of their favor at the source of civil and ecclesiastical power.

Scarcely

† Sir Richard Musgrave, in his *Strictures upon the Historical Review* (p. 153.) has gravely said, "Dr. Duigenan was, I believe, an avowed friend to the Orangemen, as was every loyal man in Ireland." *Par nobile fratrum!* "Will any man, who knows Dr. Duigenan, suppose him capable of supporting or favouring a Society sworn to exterminate all the Catholics of Ireland." In the same page, that sapient panegyrist of Orangemen and of Dr. Patrick Duigenan, assures his readers, "that outrages were committed by the lower orders of Orangemen I do not deny, but they were excesses of mistaken zeal, or retaliation upon the rebel party, for which, *after the rebellion was put down, (risum tenetis)* the perpetrators were prosecuted by Government, and many of them were convicted and punished." Was the malign imbecility even of Sir Richard Musgrave to be informed, that Lord Cornwallis was deputed by Mr. Pitt to check, as Lord Camden had been to stimulate the ferocity of the Orangemen, for one and the same purpose—*Legislative Union?*

Scarcely had the Orangemen been brought into organization, than they were taken into the pay of Government. Although the exility of their first wages did not satisfy their expectations, yet it was an earnest of encreasing emolument, and an unequivocal test of the highest approbation. No wonder\* then, that the Orangemen persisted so long in their habits of outrage, and so confidently identified themselves with Government. In the Spring of 1796, a large number of delegates from the Orangemen met in the town of Armagh, and entered into several resolutions, which they published in print. One of them purported to be a recommendation to the gentlemen of fortune to open a subscription, declaring, that the *two guineas per man allowed them*

\* In the Spring of 1796, three Orangemen voluntarily made oath before a magistrate of Down and Armagh, that the Orangemen frequently met in Committees, amongst whom were some Members of Parliament, who gave them money, and promised they should not suffer for any act they might commit, and pledged themselves, they should be provided for under the auspices of Government. This Magistrate wrote to the Secretary of State, enquiring of him, how he should act in those critical times: that hitherto he had preserved peace on his large estate, but wished to know, how he should act in future: that if it were necessary for the preservation of the present system for him to connive at or encourage the Orangemen in their depredations, he said, as a man, he knew his duty: if it were not necessary, he hoped the Magistrates of the county at large would be made responsible, and be compelled to act against these depredators.

them by Government, was not sufficient to purchase clothes and accoutrements. In the ensuing Autumn, Government found an opportunity of providing for these Orangemen in the armed corps of Yeomanry, which they then greatly encouraged. The Orangemen greedily enlisted; and thus was government enabled to arm, and keep in pay these sworn Orangemen for all their original purposes, without being open to the ungracious charge of hiring and maintaining a body of sworn exterminators.

Orange-  
men ea-  
gerly en-  
ter the  
Yeoman-  
ry corps,  
and why.

The eager enlistment of the Orangemen in these corps, is an evidential link to the combination of engrafting *Protestant ascendancy*, upon religious disunion, and Catholic depression. The Catholics not being generally admitted into the Yeomanry corps, resented the rejection as an invidious distinction, tending to question their loyalty and sincerity in their country's cause. They applied to Mr. Pelham for leave to raise a Catholic corps of Yeomanry: they were told, that they might enter into the corps then raising by their Protestant countrymen. The shyness and reluctance experienced by the few, who first offered their services, deterred others from coming forward. The several Yeomanry corps (except that of the Lawyers) having been thus composed of the most active and prominent members of the Society of Orange-

Orangemen, it would be redundant to attempt a detail of the spirit and principles of their action. In them had Government concentrated the physical force of the Society of Orangemen: and from them, as they were then constituted, did it look to an exuberant harvest of pliancy to all its various projects, from internal disunion to external union. In lieu of secretly hiring a self-constituted band of depredators, they now had in regular pay and command, the same instruments of their designs, under the advantage of being armed, trained and disciplined, and bearing the honorable distinction of the patriotic Defenders of their country. The ascendancy party greedily adopted the arming of that part of the population, on whose co-operation in their own views they could implicitly rely; and as determinately resisted its extension, because no other armed bodies could be raised without resorting to the great body of the people, which it was the system to keep unarmed and depressed. The persons then exercising the plenary powers of the State feared, lest arms put into the hands of others, than their own hirelings, should revive the spirit of the Irish Volunteers, who only laid down their arms, when their country had acquired a free constitution. After the French had been driven off Bantry by adverse winds, Sir Laurence Parsons moved an augmentation of  
the

the Yeomanry corps to 50,000\* men: but was strenuously opposed by Mr. Pelham, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Beresford, who *spoke from authority*, alleging, that it would be a most mischievous and dangerous measure. In fact, all the Orangemen capable of service, having enlisted in some of the Yeomanry corps, the party

\* Sir Richard Musgrave, in his *Strictures*, (p. 165) says, From the report of the Secret Committee of the Irish House, in 1797, that the first estimate laid before Parliament for 20,000 men, was filled up immediately. In the course of six months, above 37,000 were arrayed, and during the rebellion, the Yeomanry far exceeded 50,000, and might have been encreased to a much greater extent. His correctness as to numbers, cannot always be relied upon. In his same work, (p. 168) finding fault with the author of the *Historical Review*, for having asserted, that "little reliance was to be placed on the official accounts of the killed, wounded, and missing in the several engagements and rencountres," he assures his readers, upon the authority of the office of the Adjutant General, as he says, that the whole of the troops of the line and militia, who were killed, or who died during the year 1798, amounted only to 1366 men. In these he may not have reckoned the Ancient Britons, whose losses alone would have amounted to the greater part of that dwindled return. Certain, however it is, that such anxiety was there in the Government to keep their losses from the knowledge of the public, that a reward was given of 6l. to any military person, who should prove to his commanding officer, that a fellow-soldier had published or acknowledged before any one, not of his own corps, the death of a military person killed by the rebels.

party did not chuse to put arms into the hands of others, who were not tied by the unconstitutional oaths of secrecy to the support of the *Protestant ascendancy*. All the atrocities therefore of the Yeomen cannot strictly be laid to the account of the Orange Society, as a body; for every Yeoman was not an Orangeman: by far the greatest part and the most mischievous of them were so, and the fostering arm of protection in their foulest deeds, was as visible to the Irish people in their sufferings, as was the monitory hand on the wall to the Babylonian Monarch in his revelry.

Little remarkable happened during the remaining part of the year 1796, or the greater part of the year 1797, that called the Society of Orangemen as a body into action. It would exceed the scope of this Introduction to detail minutely all the outrages known to have been committed in various parts by Orangemen. Even Sir Richard Musgrave's audacity has not ventured to assert, they had ever been repressed or punished by Government, until after the rebellion had been put down, *when the perpetrators were prosecuted by Government, and some of them were convicted and punished*. When a single instance is submitted to the reader for illustration, it is not to be considered as a solitary case. The county of Westmeath, in the Winter of 1797,

Orange  
atrocities  
unpunished.

found itself in a state of greater tranquillity, than it had for the two preceding years. When, however, in the beginning of 1798, the Orange system was introduced with the Yeomanry, the case was reversed. In the beginning of May, 1798, a certain lieutenant of Yeomanry (afterwards cashiered for various peculations), an Orangeman, marched his corps, and surrounded the house of a farmer Duffy, in which his brother, who was the parish Priest, also dwelt: he entered and ransacked the house, taking out of it every thing valuable, particularly a sum of money he found in the Priest's bureau; and then set fire to it upon pretext of having discovered arms, by producing two poles, which farmer Duffy had for several years used in an eel fishery. This wanton act of atrocity condensed the whole of the lower orders, and worked them into a determination to seek their own revenge, as the law was shut against them. A body of nearly 3000 of them entered the town of Kilbeggan, which contained but a small garrison. Thirty-six of them, by forming into a square, and keeping up a sharp and well-directed fire, cleared the town, and dispersed the insurgents. They were afterwards pursued by a troop of the 7th dragoons, who had entered the town after their repulse, and nearly 300 of them were put to the sword. The town had been quiet for some hours, when six Orangemen (privates), without orders,



orders, set off in the afternoon, and took with them two lads, of the name of Marshall, and marched them some paces from their father's house up to one Greham's, from whom they also brought away his two sons, who were young men. Then, in the presence of their respective parents and families, they ordered the four to kneel down, and instantly murdered them in the most barbarous manner. The following day, another party of Orangemen, of the same description, and equally unauthorized, set out with a proscribed list of their own fabrication, according to each man's private resentment or humour, and calling out the wretched victims, shot and bayoneted seven persons of the town, amongst whom was the very man, who, at the risk of his life, had on the preceding day stolen into Kilbeggan, and by apprizing the small garrison of the intended attack, had been the saviour of them all.\*

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\* The times were then too turbulent to attempt legal redress. Yet, in the Spring of the next year, 1799, an honorable Baronet, who had himself witnessed these atrocious deeds of blood, supported Marshall in a prosecution for the loss of his two sons. The informations and bills of indictment were sent up to the Grand Jury. Several gentlemen of fortune and respectability proved the facts, and an Orange Grand Jury ignored the bills. The same Grand Jury in like manner returned *ignoramus* to the bills against the executioners of the proscribed list. Thus was it, that the perpetrators of Orange atrocities were convicted and punished after the rebellion was put down.

Orange-  
men en-  
creased  
and  
dreaded  
by the  
people.

The party, in which the political power of the country had concentrated, now became more than ever sensible, that by the union only of their opponents, could they be outweighed or crushed. Orange Societies had been established in most of the principal towns of the kingdom. The people every where held them in abhorrence. They resented the Orangemen's insulting proscription of above four millions of their fellow-subjects as objects of distrust and enmity. They retained a lively sense of the atrocities of Armagh. They knew them sworn to secrecy, and were convinced of their oath of extermination. They were indignant at the aggravated provocation of Government encouraging them to assume the tone and function\* of affording protection to the great population of

\* The excess, to which the Orangemen pushed their lust of controul over the proscribed cast, exceeds credibility. They imperiously arrogated to themselves the divine prerogative of judging, and acting upon their own anticipation of other men's intentions. Sir Richard Musgrave (*Strictures upon the Historical Review*, p. 228.) has published a string of nine resolutions or declarations, under the title of *Rules and Regulations of the Boyne Society; commonly called Orangemen*; the 8th of which is to the following effect:—"We are individually bound to each other, not only to preserve the peace ourselves, but also to be active in preventing all others, of whatever persuasion or denomination, (who may come within our knowledge) *that may have an intention to do an ill or a wrong act.*"

of the country, whom they swore to exclude from their societies, as unworthy of course to unite with them in their boasted loyalty. Sensible of this popular impression, and staunch to their original spirit of deceit, five of the leading members of the Orange Society put forth in all the newspapers in 1797, a solemn manifesto of their order, by way of address to the public, disclaiming the imputations of their enemies, and speaking a language of refined loyalty.

#### TO THE LOYAL SUBJECTS OF IRELAND.

“ From the various attempts that have been  
 “ made to poison the public mind, and slander Orange-  
 “ those who have had the spirit to adhere to their men's ad-  
 “ king and constitution, and to maintain the dress.  
 “ laws :

“ We, the Protestants of Dublin, assuming the  
 “ name of Orangemen, feel ourselves called upon,  
 “ not to vindicate our principles, for we know  
 “ that our honour and loyalty bid defiance to  
 “ the shafts of malevolence and disaffection, but  
 “ openly to disavow these principles, and de-  
 “ clare to the world the objects of our institu-  
 “ tion.

“ We have long observed with indignation  
 “ the efforts that have been made, to foment re-  
 “ bellion in this kingdom, by the seditious, who  
 “ have

“ have formed themselves into societies, under  
 “ the specious names of United Irishmen. We  
 “ have seen with pain the lower orders of our  
 “ fellow-subjects forced or seduced from their al-  
 “ legiance by the threats and machinations of  
 “ traitors.

“ And we have viewed with horror the success-  
 “ ful exertions of miscreants to encourage a fo-  
 “ reign enemy to invade this happy land, in  
 “ hopes of rising into consequence on the down-  
 “ fal of their country.

“ We therefore thought it high time to rally  
 “ round the constitution, and pledge ourselves to  
 “ each other, to maintain the laws, and support  
 “ our good king against all his enemies, whether  
 “ rebels to their God or to their country, and by  
 “ so doing, shew to the world, that there is a  
 “ body of men in this island, who are ready, in  
 “ the hour of danger, to stand forward in the  
 “ defence of the grand Palladium of our liberty,  
 “ the constitution of Great Britain and Ireland,  
 “ obtained and established by the courage and  
 “ loyalty of our ancestors, under the great King  
 “ William.

“ Fellow-subjects, we are accused of being  
 “ an institution founded on principles too shock-  
 “ ing to repeat, and bound together by oaths, at  
 which

“ which human nature would shudder ; but we  
 “ caution you not to be led away by such male-  
 “ volent falsehoods ; for we solemnly assure you  
 “ in the presence of Almighty God, that the  
 “ idea of injuring any one on account of his  
 “ religious opinion never entered into our hearts !  
 “ We regard every loyal subject as our friend,  
 “ be his religion what it may, we have no en-  
 “ mity, only to the enemies of our country.

“ We further declare, that we are ready, at  
 “ all times, to submit ourselves to the orders of  
 “ those in authority, under his Majesty, and  
 “ that we will cheerfully undertake any duty  
 “ which they should think proper to point out  
 “ for us, in case either a foreign enemy shall  
 “ dare to invade our coasts, or that a domestic  
 “ foe should presume to raise the standard of re-  
 “ bellion in the land ; to these principles we  
 “ are pledged, and in support of them we are  
 “ ready to shed the last drop of our blood.

“ Signed by order of the several lodges, in  
 “ Dublin, for selves and other masters,

“ THOMAS VERNER,  
 “ EDWARD BALL,  
 “ JOHN CLAUDIUS BERESFORD,  
 “ WILLIAM JAMES,  
 “ ISAAC DE JONCOURT.”

This

Gains  
them no  
credit.  
Commen-  
ded by  
Boigenan  
and Pel-  
ham.

This specious address tended to irritate the great body of the people proscribed from the Society. They placed no reliance upon the declarations of those, who entered into engagements with one another, which were kept profoundly secret from all other people\*. Not so their sympathetic

\* Having felt it an historical duty to develop as much of the Orange system as can be verified to the public, we refer the reader to the 5th of their secret articles, which will be found hereafter, in the *rules and regulations for the use of all Orange Societies*, viz. *We are not to carry any money, goods, or any thing from any person whatsoever, except arms and ammunition, and those only from an enemy.* This article develops to the impartial observer more upon reflection, than at first meets the eye. True to their original calling, the Society of Orangemen, in 1800, in adopting that as one of their secret articles, incontestibly proves, that in following up the spirit of their first vocation as *Peep of Day Boys*, they meant to retain the habits and characters of robbers and plunderers. The idea of carrying away money, goods or any thing, except arms and ammunition, and that only from an enemy, could only have arisen in the minds of those, who from actual or intended practice had enjoyed or proposed to acquire the opportunity of assaulting the persons, or breaking into the houses of such persons as possessed those things, which were or were not to be carried away. But who is the enemy, from whom this secret article obliges them to carry away arms and ammunition, and forbids them to carry away other plunder? Evidently not an open enemy, whose life, arms and property are the legitimate perquisites of war. If a secret enemy, his person might indeed be liable to be seized, upon legal information, in order to be brought to justice, but his property could not be touched, till his enmity had been proved.

pathetic friend and advocate, Dr. Duigenan. In a debate in the Commons in 1798, upon the liberty of the press, he held this language\* : “ He  
 “ was not a friend to any separation of the people  
 “ by marks or names of discrimination : but he  
 “ could not help saying, that the Orangemen  
 “ appeared by declarations published lately in  
 “ the public papers, particularly in the Dublin  
 “ Journal, to be very good and loyal subjects.  
 “ Their declarations breathed nothing but loyal-  
 “ ty, and a desire to protect all descriptions of  
 “ persons, that should behave themselves in a  
 “ neighbourly and peaceable manner, as well  
 “ Catholics, as others ; he wondered that any  
 “ charge should be made against the Orange-  
 “ men in that debate : particularly, as whatever  
 “ excesses might formerly have been committed  
 “ by them, and which certainly could not be  
 “ justified, however they might be extenuated  
 “ *by the spirit of loyalty, from which they sprung,*  
 “ were now at an end, and did not extend  
 M beyond

proved. The truth is, that this secret article is nothing more nor less, than an avowed recognition, revival and perpetuation of the depredatory and persecuting system of Armagh, carried on by the founders of their order in 1795, as much as if it had been explicitly set forth in the following, or any such terms, “ Whenever Orangemen assault a Catholic, or  
 “ break into his house, they shall not rob him of his money  
 “ or goods, but only of his arms and and gunpowder.” But the Catholic is the enemy, and the Orangeman the judge.

\* Parl. Deb. of this date.

“ beyond the limits of a single county, and  
 “ that a small one.” Mr. Pelham, in that same  
 debate, in defending the Orangemen, made an  
 avowal, which falsified the boasted plea of at-  
 tenuation urged by his friend Dr. Duigenan.  
 “ With respect to the Orangemen and Defen-  
 “ ders, whom an honorable gentleman had in  
 “ the inadvertence of debate called *rebels*, he  
 “ did not for his part think, that either descrip-  
 “ tion of those men deserved that epithet.” If  
 the Defenders were not rebels, if the Catholics  
 were not rebels, how could their persecution and  
 extermination spring from a spirit of loyalty ?  
 It was fairly remarked in that same debate, by  
 Mr. Tighe, in reply to Dr. Duigenan’s boast,  
 that the Orangemen were willing to defend the  
 Catholic, as well as any other man, if he be-  
 haved himself as a good subject ; “ that if any  
 “ particular set of men were allowed to proclaim  
 “ themselves as the protectors of this or that de-  
 “ scription of people, it would be a most dan-  
 “ gerous precedent : if it were permitted to one  
 “ body of men, every other would claim it.”

Comment  
 on  
 Orange  
 address.

Had the Orangemen been ever so sincere in  
 their address to the public, yet a body of men so  
 constituted, as upon the face of their justifica-  
 tive instrument they profess themselves to be,  
 must essentially be productive of irremediable  
 evil in a State. As a very small portion of the  
 population



population professing the religion of the State, claiming the confidence and support of Government, and vaunting exclusive loyalty, they assume the lofty tone of protecting their fellow-subjects, whom they proscribe, (of course as enemies) from associating with them in the laudable purpose of *defending their good King against all his enemies, whether rebels to their God, or to their country*. Every loyal subject is by principle and disposition at the command of his Sovereign for these purposes. An instrument of dissimulation never speaks the plain truth. Associations to combine against the King's enemies, in a well ordered State, are mischievous and dangerous, in proportion to the paucity of the associators. Where all, who feel and avow their duty associate, they are useless, and let down the paramount duty of allegiance. Close and proscriptive associations essentially create discontent, jealousy, or enmity in every excluded individual. Where co-operation in the work of loyalty is rejected, protection becomes insult: and short are the intervals between insult, provocation, and resentment. The fellow-subject, who offers his protection to 500 neighbours, some superior, some equal, some inferior to himself, can never command the confidence of those, whom his legitimate or usurped power proscribes and degrades.

Further  
comment.

The fanatical cant of associating to repel and punish *rebels to God* is indignantly to be reprobated. It is an impious usurpation of the high prerogative of the Deity to judge the conscience of man, which is only penetrable to the all scrutinizing eye. A man may be a rebel to his King: he may be an enemy to his country. The Orangeman in depopulating the county of Armagh, was an enemy to his country, not strictly *by that act* a rebel to his King. Whether he were a *rebel to his God* in burning out and exterminating the Catholic, merely because he worshipped God in his own manner, is not for human tribunal to decide. But law and common sense refute the buffoonery of Dr. Duigenan, that such acts of atrocity can spring from loyalty.

Toleration  
of  
King  
William.

It was a discovery reserved for this illuminated Society of exterminators, that the British constitution was obtained under King William. That he was called over to England to support that constitution, and that it was preserved by conquest in Ireland is true, and devoutly is it wished, that William's principles of toleration (he was a Presbyterian) were imitated by those, who disgrace his name by their savage intolerance.\* The five leading Orangemen, who came forth

\* Fitting it is, that the ostentatious supporters of the *Protestant ascendancy*, in honor and commemoration of William of Orange,

forth on this occasion with all the pomp of promise, could little expect credit for their professions. The only public deeds, by which their Society, as a body, was then known to the public, were its feats in the county of Armagh. Now it is an obvious, and indeed unavoidable appeal to every man cognizant of them, how far the Society of Orangemen, (being but an extension of the Society of *Peep of Day Boys*) could in the year 1797 truly assert, that “the idea of  
 “injuring any one on account of his religious  
 “opinions never entered into our hearts: we  
 “regard every loyal subject as our friend, be his  
 “religion what it may: we have no enmity, but  
 “to the enemies of our country.” It will be more than difficult to verify these assertions, when brought to bear upon the persecutions of  
 Armagh.

Orange should know, that after that Monarch had taken the same coronation oath, as has ever since been taken by all his successors, he offered to the Duke of Tyrconnell, in order to induce him to surrender Limerick, the following terms for the Irish Catholics, viz:—1. The free exercise of their religion. 2. Half the churches of the kingdom. 3. Half the employments civil and military, if they pleased. 4. The moiety of their ancient properties. These proposals he offered to get sanctioned by an English act of parliament. (Vide my History of Ireland, 2 vol. p. 12.) There also may be seen many traits and proofs of the natural tolerancy of William's disposition, which pointedly contradicts the wicked principles and sanguinary spirit, with which the Orangemen have endeavoured to tarnish his memory and disgrace his name.

Armagh. It must be further observed, that these guarantees of all the Orange lodges in Dublin go no further, than to answer for those, who had been initiated into the Society, after the atrocities of Armagh had been perpetrated.

The address denies not the oath of extermination.

However artfully and strongly this Orange address may have been worked up to delude the popular mind, and throw a varnish over the five leading Orangemen, which would not cover their original founders, yet it cannot elude the slightest observation, that the address contains no denial, that the oath of extermination had been taken by the original members of the institution. The advertisers for themselves and fellow-masters, (their subsequent conduct will shew how sincerely) undertake only to answer for the workings of their own hearts, not for those of the original framers of the Society or of the Institution at large. To defend the King against his enemies is a straight forward duty well known to every loyal subject. No specific association or obligation can strengthen it. To question a man's earnestness in performance of that duty is an actionable offence. What can more deeply wound the feelings of a loyal people, than the monopolizing boast of some favoured minions, that they, exclusively of the great population, are ready to resist the external and internal enemies of the country? But could every other  
difficulty

difficulty be cleared away, yet would not the waters of the Atlantic wash out that *damned spot* of their sworn secrecy\*. It impudently bids defiance

\* The Orangemen have to lament the folly or misfortune of having had their cause advocated by Sir Richard Musgrave, a wholesale dealer in falsity and fiction. By way of blunting the edge of just indignation at the nature of the rules and regulations of the Orange Societies, which he foresaw might in the process of time come to light, even through the dark veil of their secret oath, and of imposing upon the public in the mean while, their zealous defender has given in his *Strictures* (p. 225.) seven resolutions, which he says were fabricated by the enemies of the Orangemen, for the purpose of exciting in the breasts of the lower class of Catholics the most malignant and vindictive passions. One should have imagined, that the sagacious Baronet had, in 1804, when he published his *Strictures*, (which, by the bye, were never fairly entered) been long enough in the Customs to have learnt, how much better for use genuine than counterfeit commodities were.

1. Resolved unanimously, that each and every member be furnished with a case of horse pistols and a sword : also, that every member shall have 12 rounds of ball cartridges.

2. Resolved, that every man shall be ready at a moment's warning.

3. Resolved, that no member is to introduce a Papist or Presbyterian, Quaker or Methodist, or any persuasion but a Protestant.

4. Resolved, that no man wear Irish manufacture, or give employment to a Papist.

5. Resolved, that every man shall be ready at a moment's warning, to burn all the chapels and meeting-houses in the city and county of Dublin.

6. Resolved,

fiance to common law and common equity ; daringly violates the letter of the Statute, and dangerously

6. Resolved, that any man, that will give information of any house he suspects to be an United Irishman's, will get the sum of 5l. and his name kept secret.

7. Resolved, that no member will introduce any man under the age of 19, or over the age of 46.

Whoever attentively compares the genuine rules and regulations printed at the end of this introduction, with these seven resolutions given as fictitious, will perceive less deviation in them from the reality, than he will in Sir Richard Musgrave's *Memoirs of the different Irish Rebellions*. Sir Richard then gives under false titles and dates pieces of the Orange institution, their declaration about the Union, and also a declaration of the *Ulster* Orangemen, and the rules and regulations of the *Boync* Orangemen ; and all with a view to impress the public with a sublime idea of the refined loyalty of their Societies ; even to the minutiae of manners and external apparel. The masters of lodges are not only solemnly enjoined to be most particular in scrutinizing the character of every candidate for admission, but to discountenance, even by imposing fines, any imitation of the manners and dress of traitors. But Sir Richard's drivelling effort to account for and justify the Orangemen's oath of secrecy, is too curious to be withheld from the reader.

(P. 228 ) " We declare most solemnly, that we are not  
 " enemies to any body of people on account of their religion,  
 " their faith, or their mode of worship. We consider *every*  
 " *loyal subject our brother*, and they shall have our aid and  
 " protection. We are exclusively a Protestant associa-  
 " tion."

(P. 230.) " Orangemen have no secret to conceal, ex-  
 " cept the marks and tokens, by which they know one an-  
 " other. In times of turbulence and intestine commotion, it  
 " was

gerously encroaches upon the Constitution. Read the obligations of an orangeman, and answer in the face of the country, why this impenetrable veil? Look steadfastly upon truth and loyalty; and say, will they descend to be disguised under any coverlid: and least of all under an illegal

N

and

" was necessary to have certain words and signs to discriminate friends from enemies, and prevent designing traitors from mixing amongst us. They were necessary to inspire mutual trust and confidence, by indicating similarity of sentiment, and they are still necessary, not only to guard against imposition, but to recommend us to the attention and kindness of brother Orangemen, wherever the institution prevails. To divulge these would destroy their utility, and therefore the knowledge of them is strictly and properly confined to themselves." There is added a note to the foregoing passage of no slight importance, viz.—" The oath of the Orangemen, which was not kept secret, was an oath of allegiance to the King and constitution, besides which, it contained two clauses; one, that they would consider every loyal man of every religious denomination, as their brother, and would protect him as such: and another, that they would not divulge the signs, by which they were known to each other."

Is it not self-evident from these declarations, that the secret signs of the Orange Society were to entitle its members to the attention and kindness of brotherhood, wherever the institution prevailed? But the Catholics, who are proscribed from their Society, could not by these secret signs recommend themselves to such attention or kindness: consequently it was an insulting falsehood, that the Orangemen considered every loyal man of every religious persuasion as a brother; unless it be followed up by the negative inference, that no man of the Catholic persuasion can be loyal.

and unconstitutional oath of secrecy? What does the black mystery aim at, but to knit together ferocious banditti, taking with voracious vigilance the bloody signal from the patrons of national disunion?

Extension  
of Orang-  
ism

It cannot be too frequently pressed upon the reader, that the establishment of Orangism has become the fatal engine, by which modern ministers effectuate that division of the Irish people, by which they maintain a monopoly of power in the country, under the imposing term *Protestant ascendancy*, which their predecessors more modestly termed *English interest*. When Primate Boulter lamented the exposure and consequent failure of the corrupt English job of Wood's patent for the base coinage of halfpence, he spoke to his brother minister without disguise: "The worst of it is, that it tends to *unite Protestant with Papist*: and whenever that happens, good bye to the *English interest in Ireland* for ever." In order to prepare the mind for judging soundly of the grand catastrophe of disunion, it behoves us to trace as correctly as possible the extent of the powers, and multiplication of these engines of division, whilst the managers were getting up and rehearsing the bloody tragedy. In November, 1797,\* "in the

\* Extracts from the Press; Philad. 1802. p. 191.



" the narrow vicinage of a northern village,  
 " (Lisburn) no less than fourteen societies of il-  
 " legal associations, under the denominations of  
 " Orangemen, and numbered from 138 to 154,\*  
 " which proves, that so many other societies  
 " of the same kind exist, avow themselves in a  
 " public advertisement, which appeared in the  
 " Evening Post of Thursday (i. e. 23 Nov. 1797)  
 " publicly addressing a Mr. Johnson as their  
 " chairman, and publishing their resolutions  
 " publicly entered into at a meeting held on the  
 " Sabbath-day, at the parish church of Der-  
 " riaghly." In this same year the seeds of  
 Orangism were profusely sown in and about  
 Newry, and promised an early and plentiful  
 harvest. The Ancient Britons, who were  
 mostly Orangemen, and Mr. Giffard, the great  
 apostle of Orangism, then a captain in the

N 2

Dublin

\* As it appears by the rules and regulations of the Orange  
 societies, settled in 1800, that each lodge shall have ten offi-  
 cers, viz. a master and deputy master, a secretary and de-  
 puty secretary, a treasurer, and five committee men, it may be  
 reasonably inferred from that number of officers, that each  
 lodge consists of several score, if not some hundred mem-  
 bers. Coupling this with a further and very obvious pre-  
 sumption, that the number of lodges, which in November  
 1797 fell not short, but may have greatly exceeded 354,  
 has since that period been considerably augmented, the  
 present aggregate of that base brotherhood is awfully for-  
 midable.

Dublin City Militia, were quartered there; and by far the greater part of the Newry cavalry and infantry Yeomen were also Orangemen. No wonder then, that this spot was chosen for a renewal of some of the Armagh scenes of extermination, one of which is submitted to the reader,\* as it has been narrated to the author, by a gentleman of respectability, who being out with his corps on that day, saw and heard the greatest part himself, and received the rest from the confession of the principal actor in that scene, which took place at a distance.

Massacre  
and burn-  
ings near  
Newry.

In May 1797, a Corporal's guard had been ordered out in the afternoon to search the house of one Hedge, at Ballyholan, who was a Presbyterian, for arms; none were found. It happened however on this as on many such occasions, that the

\* This scene was selected from amongst others, not merely from the possession of the most undeniable evidence (the author has evidence of many others, which he suppresses) of the facts, but because it has always been considered to have mainly contributed to the rebellion, which took place in the next year. Government boasted of having made it explode. They forgot, that they had created the disaffection, from which it proceeded. It appears from Dr. M'Nevin's examination before the secret committee of the Commons (that part of it, which affects this subject, will be hereafter quoted for another purpose) that Mr. Corry allowed, that houses were burnt about Newry, and Lord Castlereagh boasted, that they had weakened the rebellion by the means taken to make it explode.

the searchers made free with articles of dress or furniture, as their fancies suggested. Here the search ended in the appropriation of a silk handkerchief, which one of the military purloined.— This produced some observation and sarcasm from several of the neighbouring peasants, whom curiosity had brought round Hedger's dwelling during the search. There lived close by one Brennan, a weak, half-witted man, who was a private in the Newry Yeomen Infantry. He ran instantly to town, and gave out, that the party was surrounded, and perhaps cut to pieces. Immediately the trumpet and bugle sounded, and the Ancient Britons, some of the Dublin City Militia under Captain Giffard, and some of the Newry Yeomanry turned out, and hastened towards Ballyholan, without order, or any special command. For the space of a mile or two the face of the country was covered with the military moving in disorder, and acting without any other fixed plan, than that of general massacre and extermination. The Ancient Britons hewed down all the countrymen in coloured clothes they met, or overtook; they took no prisoners. The militia fired at some fugitives, but made several prisoners, amounting in the whole to about 26. The Yeomen infantry principally shewed their prowess by firing into the thatch of the cabins and setting fire to them. Upon the first appearance of the military, the most active of the peasants made their escape.

A party

Same subject continued.

A party of the Ancient Britons came up to a cluster of houses, which they set fire to. They had been all abandoned except one, which contained an old infirm man, that was bed-ridden, attended by his daughter. She threw herself on her knees, and, after several refusals, at last obtained leave from the commanding officer to permit her father to be carried out of the house. He had scarcely been removed one minute before the roof fell in. After the bugle had sounded to rally, and the troops were drawn up in line near Mr. Hana's park, one of the Ancient Britons rode up to Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, their commander, and said the rebels were in the park and the wood adjoining, when they received orders from their commander to spare no one. They immediately dispersed. Three of them perceiving something moving in a thicket, successively fired into it; and one of them shot an unfortunate lad, of about ten years of age, through the left eye. He had been attending some cows on the road, but on seeing the military he had endeavoured to conceal himself from their fury in that thicket. He was shewn to Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, by an officer, whose humanity was shocked, and the commander observing, that he was sorry for the mistake, ordered one of his men to take him up behind him, and convey him to the hospital.\*

\* His name is Fagan, he is still living at Newry.

Another lad, of about fourteen years of age, had been most inhumanly butchered, his head split in twain and nearly severed from his body. His father and uncle having heard of the misfortune, went after his corpse, and were taken prisoners by the militia-men under Captain Giffard. One Hand, a revenue-officer, at the risk of his life, went up to a gentleman of the Yeoman cavalry, to whom he was known, and entreated him to return to the party, and inform them, that some of the Ancient Britons, after having killed that lad, had fired into his house at his wife, who was far gone with child, and he was afraid that he should be murdered himself. He entreated to have the boy brought down to the road, through which the military were to pass, in order, that the commanding officer should see him, and be thereby induced to release the father and uncle. Captain Giffard expressed high offence at the boy's corpse having been brought into sight, and immediately took the two men, who had brought it to the road, into custody. Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, when he was informed of the circumstance, ordered the father and uncle to be released. Two Ancient Britons, one of them by name Ned Allen, had strayed about a mile from the main body to a farm-house of Mr. Robert Maitland's. Near the gate stood a boy, named Ryan, about six years of age, whom they ordered to open it: the child said he would, if

Further  
atrocities.

if they would not hurt him. Before he could open it, one of them struck at the child with his sabre over the gate, and broke his arm. They still insisted upon his opening it, which the child did with his other hand, and they rode through, and cut up the boy with their sabres, and one of them made his horse, (though with much difficulty) trample upon him. They entered the house, and having taken the key of the cellar, sat down to drink: in the mean time three of the Dublin City Militia came up to the house, and joined them in drinking. The Ancient Britons gave Orange toasts: the Militiamen gave Irish toasts. They quarrelled and fought: one of the Militia-men was killed, and the other two were severely wounded with the sabres of the Ancient Britons. The two Ancient Britons were afterwards tried for the murder, and were instantly acquitted. About thirty houses were burnt, and eleven persons were killed. Thus closed this unfought day of blood.\*

\* Such was the vindictive animosity, which the people bore to the corps of Ancient Britons, that after the insurrection had, partly by their means, been made to explode, as Lord Castlereagh boasted, they never came into contact with the rebels without being reminded of *Ballyholan*, and they were generally refused quarter. The Corps of Ancient Britons was the largest, that came over from England; they exceeded one thousand effective men, and it is generally computed, that not nearly one-tenth of the privates, who first came over, survived the contest. Deficiencies were partly supplied by fresh recruits.

We are arrived at that bloody tragedy of 1798, <sup>Rebellion</sup> which deprived his Majesty of 70,000 most use- <sup>in 1798.</sup> ful subjects, whom wiser councils would have preserved to fight the battles of the British empire against its most potent enemy. Without attempting to reprobate or justify the policy of the Irish government's pursuing a system of coercion and terror, be it conceded, that it did exist;\* and that it caused the rebellion to break  
 O out

\* As the policy of these preliminary measures of extraordinary harshness is still fiercely contested by the opposite parties, it will be but fair to submit to the reader the pith of the adverse opinions. Sir Richard Musgrave, who was secretly employed, privately rebuked, and publicly rewarded for pangenyzing the Camden administration, after having boasted of the happy consequence of the great rigour and severity, which took place under Lord Camden's government, (p. 161, Str.) sums up the justification of all the illegal and unconstitutional acts of that period, in a quaint piece of advice of Lord Carhampton to Lord Camden, which was in the mouth of every loyal man in the upper ranks of life in Ireland. "My Lord, if you suffer them to go to war with you, and "you go to law with them, it does not require much "sagacity to foresee the issue of the contest." On the other side, the most authentic representation of the sense generally entertained of those harsh measures of government will be collected from the principal leaders of the United Irishmen, who fully disclosed their genuine sentiments upon that subject to the Secret Committees of the Lords and Commons, in 1798. On the 10th of August, Mr. Emmet, before the Secret Committee of the Lords, was asked by Lord Chancellor Cleeve.

Pray

out at Naas on the 23d of May, which terminated exactly four months from that day, by the surrender

*“ Pray, Mr. Emmett, what caused the late insurrection ?”*

*Emmett.* “ The free quarters, the house burnings, the tortures and the military executions in the counties of Kildare, Carlow and Wicklow.”——p. 36.

On the 16th of August, when Mr. Arthur O'Connor was under examination of the Secret Committee of the Commons, he was questioned by them :

*Committee.* “ What is the object the people have in view at present ?

*O'Connor.* “ I believe they have laid by for the instant all idea of speculative politics, and think only how they shall annihilate the insupportable usurpation and cruelty of the British and Irish government, and how they shall best avenge the blood, which has been shed, and the tortures, that have been inflicted, to support a government they detest.”——p. 56.

When Dr. McNevin was upon his examination before the Secret Committee of the Commons, on the 8th of August 1798, he was questioned more particularly :

*Speaker, Mr. Foster.* “ Pray, Sir, what do you think occasioned the insurrection ?

*McNevin.* “ The insurrection was occasioned by the house burnings, the whippings to extort confessions, the torture of various kinds, the free quarters, and the murders committed upon the people by the magistrates and the army.

*Speaker.* “ This only took place since the insurrection.

*McNevin.* “ It is now more than twelve months (looking at Mr. Corry) since those horrors were perpetrated by the Ancient Britons about Newry ; and long before the insurrection they were quite common through the counties of

Kildare



surrender of Humbert's handful of Frenchmen at Ballinamuck. During that period of four months we are willing, that the characteristic traits of Orange ferocity should merge in the natural acrimony of an open civil war. The nature,

O 2

" Kildare and Carlow, and began to be practised with very great activity in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford.

*Corry and Latouche.* " Yes, a few houses were burned.

*Speaker.* " Would not the organization have gone on, and the union become stronger, but that the insurrection was brought forward too soon?

*M'Nevin.* " The organization would have proceeded, and the union have acquired that strength, which arises from order: Organization would at the same time have given a controul over the people capable of restraining their excesses; and you see scarcely any have been committed in those counties, where it was well established.

*Lord Castlereagh.* " You acknowledge the union would have been stronger, but for the means taken to make it explode!

*M'Nevin.* " It would every day have become more perfect, but I do not see any thing in what has happened, to deter the people from persevering in the union and its objects: On the contrary, if I am rightly informed, the trial of force must tend to give the people confidence in their own power, as I understand it is now admitted, that if the insurrection was general and well conducted, it would have been successful.

*Lord Castlereagh.* " Were not the different measures of the government, which are complained of, subsequent to various proceedings of the United Irishmen?

*M'Nevin.* " Prior, my Lord, to most of them. If your Lordship desire it, I will prove by comparison of dates, that government throughout has been the aggressor."—  
(His Lordship was not curious.)

ture, however, of this disquisition calls for some notice of the operations of Orangemen, immediately before and immediately after that fatal contest, in order to trace the continuance of the spirit and principles of the Orange societies, and their effects upon Ireland, from their institution up to the Union; from which period their more notable achievements will find their order in the ensuing history.

**Wexford  
insurrec-  
tion.**

The insurrection of Wexford, which was the most formidable and bloody of any in Ireland, cannot be passed unnoticed, because it originated out of *Orange* outrage. There had long existed in the county of Wexford a numerous party of Protestants marked for their acrimony to Catholics. It should seem, as if the Orange emissaries had not thought it worth their while to introduce their system into a county, in which disunion had already taken such deep root. In fact, Orangism was little known in that county till the month of April, 1798, when it was introduced into it by the North Cork militia commanded by Lord Kingsborough (now Earl of Kingston.) That corps superabounded with Orangemen,\* who were encouraged by their co-  
lonel

\* It will appear by the 14th of the general rules for the government of Orange lodges, among the *Rules and Regulations*

lonel in displaying the triumphant *insignia* of their institution, such as medals and Orange ribbands at their breasts, and in proselytizing for their order. In the alarming crisis of those times, the sure favour of government and protection of the military gained many converts. The propagation of their sect was rather Mahometan

*lations for the use of all Orange Societies*, printed at the end of this introduction : " That as regiments are considered as " districts, the masters of all regimental lodges do make half " yearly returns of the number, names and rank of the members of their lodge, to the secretary of the Grand Lodge, " but they shall not make an Orangeman, except the officers, " non-commissioned officers and privates of their respective " regiments : and that they do remit to the Grand Treasurer " of Ireland the half yearly subscription, as well as that, " which is immediately to take place." This accounts for the narrative of Mr. Hay (p. 175.) " A pitch cap being " found in the barrack of Wexford, and an Orange commission or warrant, appointing a serjeant of the North " Cork militia to found an Orange lodge in the town, roused " the people from the utmost tranquillity to the highest pitch " of fury. This quickly drew together great numbers in " the barrack yard, and their horror of the Orange system " was so excited, that in those emblems they imagined they " possessed the most convincing proof of their intended extermination." Here too, as in other parts, the introduction of Orange lodges tended wonderfully to extend the Union. Such was the dread, which the Catholics conceived of the Orangemen, that they readily listened to the insinuations of the few United Irishmen in that county, and for self preservation sheltered their individual fears under collective confidence.

tan than Christian. Terror superseded conviction. These military savages were permitted both by magistrates and officers, in open day, to seize every man they wished or chose to suspect as a *Croppy*, and drag him to the guard house, where they constantly kept a supply of coarse linen caps, besmeared inside with pitch; and when the pitch was well heated, they forced the cap on his head, and sometimes the melted pitch running into the eyes of the unfortunate victim superadded blindness to his other tortures. They generally detained him till the pitch had so cooled, that the cap could not be detached from the head without carrying with it the hair and blistered skin: they then turned him adrift, disfigured, often blind, and writhing with pain. They enjoyed, with horrid bursts of laughter, the fiend-like sport of seeing their victims either fall down, or knock their heads against the walls, in their eager but blind efforts to escape their torturers. This caused abhorrence and dread amongst their countrymen. At other times they rubbed moistened gunpowder into the hair in form of a cross, and set fire to it; and not unfrequently sheared off the ears and nose of the tortured *croppy*. They abused, both by word and action every female, that happened to have a tint of green in her apparel. The most notorious master of these infernal sports, both for invention and

and execution, was a serjeant of the North Cork militia, nicknamed *Tom the Devil*. These atrocities were daily renewed and continued with impunity, up to the breaking out of that insurrection. Those Orange fiends never dismissed from their guard house an unfortunate victim without expressing their inhuman joy by savage yells of exultation.\* No wonder then, that the  
Wexford

\* See Mr. Hay's valuable and authentic history of the insurrection of the County of Wexford, (p. 58,) & *alibi*. That gentleman was an eye witness to the whole of the Wexford insurrection, and is an illustrious instance of the utility of coteremporary history.

With difficulty does the mind yield reluctant credit to such debasement of the human species. The spirit, which degrades it to that abandonment, is of no ordinary depravity. It wars with the first elements of social nature, and should be wrenched with the strongest arm of power from the state, in which it has taken root. To prevent its continuance and growth in Ireland, by developement of its noxious powers, is the intent of this publication. The knowledge of a national evil is the first step towards its removal. The spirit of Orangism would never have existed in the country, but for the encouragement and countenance, which the higher orders gave to the lower. It would be uncandid to retail only instances of the brutality of the lower orders, whilst evidence is forthcoming of persons of fortune and education being still more brutalized by its deleterious spirit. As a gentleman of respectability was passing near the Old Custom-house, Essex-bridge, Dublin, in the afternoon of Whit-sunday, 1798, two spectacles of horror, covered with pitch and gore, running, as if they were blind, through the streets arrested his attention.

The

Wexford insurgency assumed a degree of vindictive ferocity known to no other part of the kingdom. It became a contest between Catholics and Orangemen. Of this, Sir Richard Musgrave has afforded (perhaps unintended) testimony, by giving the copy of a certificate\* signed by a Catholic priest, by way of passport, on the memorable day, on which Wexford was evacuated, and Lord Cornwallis assumed the reins of government.

The

They were closely followed out of the Old Custom-house by Lord Kingsborough and Mt. John C. Bertesford, whom he knew, and by an officer in uniform whom he knew not. They were pointing and laughing immoderately at these tortured fugitives. One of them was John Fleming, a ferry-boatman, and the other Francis Gough, a coach smith. They had been unmercifully flogged to extort confessions; but having none to make, they were called out on this festival, had melted pitch poured over their heads, and feathers struck into it. The right ear of Fleming was clipped off, and Gough lost all his hair. They were sent adrift, without a rag of clothes, to make their escape through the streets. Gough's flagellation was superintended by Lord Kingsborough, who almost at every lash questioned him how he liked it: it was so severe as to have confined him six months to his bed. The same spirit of Orangism moved the Colonel in Dublin, and his sergeant at Wexford. The effects of that spirit can only be fairly illustrated by facts. These have been verified to the author by the spectator and sufferer.

\* "A. of B. in the parish of C. has done his duty, and "proved himself a Roman Catholic, and has made a voluntary oath, that he never was an Orangemon, nor took the "Orange oath. F. J. BROE. Dated Wexford, June 21, "1798,"

The arrival of Lord Cornwallis in Ireland opens a new scene of the fatal tragedy, upon the success of which Mr. Pitt boasted of resting his reputation with posterity. Lord Camden had long solicited his recall. But the measure of exhaustion was incomplete, whilst Ireland could lift an eyelid. The terrifier became affrighted. *Exangues terreat umbras.* Mr. Pitt sent over Lord Cornwallis in haste and trepidation to administer emollients and restoratives; and should he be so fortunate as to discontinue her agonizing throbs, to soothe her into the measure of Union, before the convalescent should have caught a glimpse of full recovery. Mr. Pitt was a master of stage effect, and the subtlety, with which he descended to the lowest shifts of deception was unrivalled. His eloquence, his credit, even his ambition gave way to his craft. Lord Cornwallis, the minister of Mr. Pitt's views upon Ireland arrives in his twofold mission (to quell rebellion and enforce the Union) armed with the double power of civil governor and military commander. Unlike to his two immediate predecessors, he was not placed under the tutelage of the Irish managers, but directed to assume a character of his own, apparently independent of the British cabinet, which should let down the power of the Orangeman, now grown formidable even to Mr. Pitt, and raise the Catholic into confidence and assurance, whilst he endeavoured

Lord  
Cornwal-  
lis arrives  
in Ire-  
land.

to seduce him to the treacherous embraces of a legislative Union. In the execution of the first part of his commission, Lord Cornwallis soon acquired the confidence of the Catholic body, and incurred the hatred and abhorrence of the whole Orange faction. Not one of either party was at that time initiated into the mysterious game the Irish Viceroy had to play for the British minister. He was to put down for a time the ferocity of the Orangeman by the physical force of the Catholic; he was to promise emancipation, as the price of Union: he was to forfeit that promise, when he had received the stipulated price: he was to leave the ungracious refusal to those, who were known unwilling to propose and unable to carry the measure.

Lord  
Cornwal-  
lis the  
tool of  
Mr. Pitt.

Lord Cornwallis was as much the tool of Mr. Pitt,\* as his immediate predecessor Lord Camden.

\* Lord Cornwallis was set off by Mr. Pitt for three purposes: 1st, To put down the rebellion, which was acquiring more strength, than the excitors of it had intended. 2d, To force external union upon the convulsive struggles of an agonizing people. 3d, To perpetuate internal discord, by keeping on foot a permanent body of intolerants, secretly sworn to proscription and persecution. After the rebellion had been completely extinguished in 1798, the Catholic was wanted and fulsomely courted by the Chief Governor to support the Union. Every thing soothing and flattering was done, that was trivial. Every thing promised, that was important. Nothing



den. The degradation of Ireland, by the surrender of her political existence had been the  
 P 2 implacable

thing harsh, grating, or irritating, was in the mean time countenanced or permitted. Internal union, harmony, and amnesty were the stile, spirit, and order of the Castle. No sooner had the rebellion been put down, than Sir Richard Musgrave was set to work by the party, and with clerical and other aid, he soon raked together an undigested heap of acrimonious falsehood and obloquy, which he called *Memoirs of the different Rebellions in Ireland*. His work was dedicated by permission to Marquis Cornwallis, and was afterwards forced into circulation with more than the ordinary countenance of power. His Lordship, it appears, in accepting the dedication of that work, which was completed, and might have been published long before the Union was accomplished, accompanied the favor with an indispensable condition, that it should not make its appearance, till that great-master-piece of Mr. Pitt's policy should have been finally established. The work was well known to Lord Cornwallis to be of so irritating a nature to the Catholics, as to endanger the measure of Union by the subtraction of their support had it appeared, whilst opposition could be available. The Union passed. Lord Cornwallis's reason for keeping the work suppressed was gone by. The injunction was dissolved. The work appeared. Lord Cornwallis in a private letter disclaimed his acceptance of the acrimonious calumny. Sir Richard Musgrave's warmth in supporting the Union, traducing Ireland, and calumniating the Catholics, was rewarded by the collectorship of the City of Dublin Excise. A valuable appointment, which he still enjoys. It was not given to him by Lord Cornwallis, for that might not have been consistent; but by Lord Hardwicke, his successor, before the worthy Baronet had enjoyed an opportunity of rendering any services to his Government. In historical discussion the private virtues and feelings of the man are absorbed  
 in

implacable resolve of that ambitious Statesman, ever since her rejection of his commercial propositions

in the public character allotted to the individual. The personal merits of Lord Hardwicke stand eminently conspicuous. But when he accepted of the Vice-royalty of Ireland, under the Administration of Mr. Addington, he stood before the public enveloped, not only with the mantle of royal authority, but of personal responsibility for his proper management of the executive powers of government in Ireland. The patronage of the Crown of Ireland flowed immediately from him, as representing the person and executing the supreme will of the Sovereign. What confidence then could the Irish people repose in that Governor, who in the very outset of his Administration thought fit to bestow the valuable appointment of collectorship of the City of Dublin Excise upon Sir Richard Musgrave the notorious traducer of his country, falsifier of her history, and disturber of her peace. One of the last acts of Lord Cornwallis, was to apprise that Baronet, through Sir E. B. Littlehales, on the 24th. March, 1801, "that had his Excellency been apprized of the contents and nature of the work, he would never have lent the sanction of his name to a book, which tends so strongly to revive the dreadful animosities, which have so long distracted this country, and which it is the duty of every good subject to endeavour to compose." One of the first acts of Lord Hardwicke's Government, was to reward this *reviver of animosity* by the appointment to a most valuable situation in the collection of the revenue. What are the obvious reflections upon this transaction? That the Baronet did the work of his task-masters; and though one of them squeamishly disclaimed his order, yet another in support of the system paid the wages of his contract, and permitted him to enlarge and extend by two editions that very work, which had been so formally denounced

sitions in 1785. With this view he debauched Ireland, under the Duke of Rutland. He re-established her dependance upon the British Minister through the Marquis of Buckingham.\* He weakened her under the Earl of Westmoreland. He tantalized and taunted her by the transit of Earl Fitzwilliam. He exasperated her under the Earl of Camden. He debased her under Marquis Cornwallis. And by continuing the Earl of Hardwicke in his Government, he insidiously rivetted by pretending to lighten her fetters. To each governor he allotted his part. Lords Westmoreland and Camden he handed over without reserve or controul to his Irish managers: those very men, whom he permitted on certain conditions to monopolize for a time the whole power of the State, under the insidious pretext

nounced as tending to revive the dreadful animosities of the country, which it was the duty of every good subject to compose. To the public virtues of which of the three actors in this transaction does Ireland owe the most gratitude? The sincerity of the Marquis, the delicacy and justice of the Earl, or the patriotism of the Baronet?

\* On the Gala given in Dublin upon the King's recovery, after that nobleman had regained his majority in parliament against the patriotic supporters of the Prince of Wales's right to an unfettered regency, he proposed, after the health of their Majesties had been drunk, not merely in priority to, but in exclusion to the Prince of Wales, the health of Mr. Pitt, *the friend of Ireland!!!*

pretext of supporting *Protestant ascendancy*. For this he allowed them to wear the vizard: he well knew the baseness of their servitude, and the mischief of their deeds. Lords Cornwallis and Hardwicke played Mr. Pitt's game as faithfully by curbing and chastening the pruriency and ferocity of the Orangeman, as Lord Camden had by permitting his managers to stimulate him to outrage.

Conduct  
of the  
Orange-  
men after  
the rebel-  
lion.

The nature of this disquisition requires a faithful outline, at least, of the more prominent feats of Orangemen, and of the understanding, which subsisted between them and the Government, during the interval between the close of the rebellion, and the birth of its forced and unnatural issue the Union. *Veneris monumenta nefandæ*. When Mr. Pitt came to look closely down the precipice, to the verge of which he had forced this valuable portion of his Majesty's inheritance,\* he recoiled with horror at his own temerity, and insidiously enlarged the powers of the chief governor to any extent, which in his discretion he might find necessary to impress the people

\* When Dr. McNevin was under examination of the Secret Committee, he answered a question put to him by Sir John Parnell, thus. "People agree, that if the insurrection of a few counties in Leinster, unskillfully as it was directed, was so near overthrowing the Government, a general rising would have freed Ireland." (p. 77.)

people with a conviction, that a permanent inversion of the system was sincerely meant. Little anxious was he for the consequences of future disappointment and indignation of the people, provided the temporary deception answered his purpose of ensnaring them into the Union. Caution and tenderness were in the mean time strongly recommended not to drive the ascendancy party into revolt, but occasionally to bestow honors and rewards on some of their more violent leaders, should it be found necessary to keep them steady in their ranks, and above all to prevent desertion and disunion amongst the subalterns sworn into their service by the oath of secrecy. To the effects of these instructions are to be ascribed the knighthood and pension conferred on Sir Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald, the Sheriff of Tipperary, against whom a jury had found £500 damages, for having flogged nearly to death a respectable gentleman, Mr. Wright,\* merely for having in his pocket a note of excuse, written in the French language. Parliament, on the virtuous opposition of Mr. Yelverton, rejected his petition to be indemnified in that instance, but instantly passed an act to indemnify all Magistrates and officers prospectively, who should exceed the law in like cases. He was honoured and rewarded, as stated.

The

† N. B. He is second cousin to Mr. Shaw, the member for Dublin.

Orangism  
after the  
rebellion  
was put  
down.

The keeping certain corps of Orange Yeomanry on permanent duty for insufficient or worse reasons must be laid to the like account. Certain commanders of these corps, in the county of Tipperary fabricated, secreted, and discovered pikes in parts of the country, which were perfectly tranquil, in order that they might be in the receipt of their men's pay, who were all their tenants, and which they withheld for rent. Those same gentlemen were also in the uncontrolled habit of holding mock sessions over their bottle, after dinner, under the insurrection act, and sentencing without trial to transportation any of their neighbours they found troublesome or disagreeable, that were brought before them.\* The patricide alone would suppress the crying enormity of orders systematically given to the different corps of yeomanry, into which, says their advocate and encomiast, Sir Richard Musgrave,† “the loyal Orangemen were instantly admitted, and of which they formed by far the most considerable part.” The feelings and judgment of the reader are most specially summoned to be alive to every circumstance attending the deliberate and inhuman murder of Thomas Dogherty by Hugh Wollaghan.

Thomas

\* *Rex v. White & Goring*. R. R. Mich. 1800. Where these and many more outrageous doings of those Magistrates are proved by numerous affidavits filed in the cause.

† *Strict* 145.

Thomas Dogherty was a sick lad lying on the lap of his mother in her cabin, in which situation he was most inhumanly murdered by Wollaghan a Yeoman.\* For this atrocious murder Wollaghan was brought to trial before a court martial, of which the Earl of Enniskillen was president.† Every circumstance of aggravation was fully proved. No attempt was made to disprove a particle of the evidence. But a justification was set up, that the horrid murder had been committed under a regular order of the commanding officer. And what forsooth was that order? That *if any Yeoman on a scouring party* (which were almost daily) *should meet with any, whom he knew or suspected to be a rebel, he need not be at the trouble of bringing him in, but was to shoot him on the spot.* This order, and the constant acting up to it by the corps was proved by one private, one serjeant, and two lieutenants of Yeomanry. Captain Archer swore, that Wollaghan was a sober and diligent man, ready to obey his officers, and an acquisition to the corps. Captain Gore confirmed Captain Archer's evidence in every particular;

Murder of  
Dogherty  
by Wollaghan a  
Yeoman,  
and its  
consequences.

Q

\* The particulars of this moving case are minutely detailed in Hist. Rev. 3 vol. p. 810.

† The other members of the court-martial were

Major Brown, L. I. D. Captain Irwin, Fermanagh,

Captain O'neil, ditto, Captain Carter, R. I. D.

Capt. Lesley, Fermanagh, Lieutenant Summers, 68th.

cular ; and added, that other corps had similar orders in other districts. Here the defence closed, and the court acquitted the prisoner. Need it be observed, that here an Orange murderer was acquitted by sympathising Orange judges and jurymen. A court martial acts upon oath in both characters. The profligacy was too rank, not to be publicly stigmatized by Lord Cornwallis. The Union was yet at an awful and uncertain distance ; and he had it in command to persuade the people, that he was sent over to invert the system of Orange impunity and remuneration. The following official letter was accordingly written to General Craig.

*" Dublin, October 18, 1798.*

*" Sir,*

*" Having laid before the Lord Lieutenant  
 " the proceedings of a general court martial,  
 " held by your orders in Dublin Barracks, on  
 " Saturday the 13th instant, of which Colonel,  
 " the Earl of Enniskillen is president, I am directed to acquaint you, that his Excellency  
 " entirely disapproves of the sentence of the  
 " above court martial acquitting Hugh Wollaghan of a cruel and deliberate murder, of  
 " which by the clearest evidence he appears to  
 " have been guilty. Lord Cornwallis orders  
 " the court martial to be immediately dissolved,  
 " and directs, that Hugh Wollaghan be dismissed*



" missed from the corps of Yeomanry, in which  
 " he served, and that he shall not be received  
 " into any other corps of Yeomanry in this  
 " kingdom. His Excellency further desires,  
 " that the above may be read to the president  
 " and the members of the court martial in open  
 " court. I have the honor to be, Sir,

" Your most obedient humble Servant,

" H. TAYLOR, Sec,

" Lieut. Gen. Craig, &c. &c.

" P. S. I am also directed, that a new court  
 " martial be immediately convened, for the trial  
 " of such prisoners, as may be brought before  
 " them, and that none of the officers, who sat  
 " upon Hugh Wollaghan be admitted as mem-  
 " bers."

In the year 1799, amongst several regiments Orange-  
 of English militia, which had volunteered their <sup>men pro-</sup>  
 services to help to put down the rebellion, was <sup>selytize</sup>  
 that of Cambridgeshire, commanded by the Earl <sup>amongst</sup>  
 of Hardwicke. Hence several circumstances <sup>the Eng-</sup>  
 highly material to this disquisition have come <sup>lish regi-</sup>  
 to light, which would otherwise have been bu- <sup>ments.</sup>  
 ried like so many others in Orange darkness.  
 It appears, that the Orange emissaries were very  
 active in proselytizing amongst the different  
 corps then newly arrived from England. When

the unsuspecting character of the English is considered, and the natural forwardness of the soldier to profess even to ostentation his zeal and loyalty for the King is taken into the scale, no wonder, that by plausible affectation of extraordinary loyalty and zeal for religion, many Englishmen were induced to become members of societies, which professed to have no other, than these laudable objects in view. No preliminary communication of the terms or obligation, no probationary trial preceded the engagement. Unguarded confidence induced several English officers and soldiers to swear to the Orange obligation. Reflection could only ensue the knowledge acquired by having sworn. The shame and repentance at having blindly entered into a solemn obligation on oath, the personal dread of divulging the secrets of men of no mild or forgiving disposition, the conscientious qualms at having taken an oath either of *extermination*, or of *conditional allegiance*, operated variously upon the reflecting and penitent minds of the unthinking jurors, and left them all under considerable, and different degrees of embarrassment and perplexity.\*

The

\* These effects have not been unfrequent even amongst the Irish. But few have the resolution to avow their own shame or repentance at what they have unadvisedly done. The author has been assured by a gentleman of veracity, that he was one of a mixed company of 27, who dined with Sir William

Stamert

The noble colonel of the Cambridgeshire militia, by some means or other became so strongly impressed with the mischief of those Orange Societies (none other then existed in Ireland), that he found it expedient to issue the following Order.

Lord  
Hard-  
wicke's  
order  
against  
entering  
into  
Orange  
lodges.

*" Dublin, April 17, 1799.*

### **" REGIMENTAL ORDER.**

" The Earl of Hardwicke having been in-  
 " formed, that several lodges and societies exist  
 " in this town, and other parts of Ireland,  
 " formed for party and other mischievous pur-  
 " poses, under various denominations, makes it  
 " his particular request to all the officers not to  
 " suffer themselves to become members of any  
 " of them. And all non-commissioned officers  
 " and soldiers are strictly forbidden to be mem-  
 " bers of any such lodges or societies, or to  
 " frequent them under any pretence. Any man  
 " discovered to have transgressed this order,  
 " must expect the consequences of such disobe-  
 " dience."

Stamer (the present Lord Mayor of Dublin). When that gentleman said openly at his own table, in the presence, and to the visible mortification of several Brother Orangemen, that after long importunities he had at last been sworn in an Orangeman : that he had attended one lodge night, but that no earthly consideration should ever induce him to attend another.

"dience." Lord Hardwicke has full credit for having acted in this instance uprightly and prudently. As colonel of the Cambridgeshire militia, having no controul over other persons in Ireland, than those, who composed his own regiment, he forbade his men, as far as his power over them extended, to become Orangemen; because the Orange Societies *were formed for party and other mischievous purposes*. Lord Hardwicke then was too honorable and too honest to pass a sentence at the head of his regiment of such indiscriminate reprobation, against societies loudly professing the most refined zeal and loyalty for Church and King, unless he well knew their professions belied their principles and their practices. His Lordship then acted upon the unchecked impulse of his native feeling and judgment. He was still unmannacled by politics.\*

The

\* In the year 1804, the author published a Postliminous Preface to his Historical Review of the State of Ireland, in which he said "that the quintessence of Orangism was necessarily productive of disunion and enmity between the members of the Orange clubs and those, who could not be admitted into them. The prevailing belief, that their Vice-roy, when colonel of the Cambridgeshire militia, had been sworn into an Orange lodge, (the author has not attempted to verify the fact) tended to weaken the personal confidence of those, who considered all Orangemen indiscriminately bounden by ties and engagements adverse to the Catholic interests,

The verification of the fact of Lord Hardwicke's having been sworn into an Orange lodge in the year 1799, is not matter of mere curiosity. It is not to be presumed, that after he had published that prohibition to his regiment, over which alone he had controul, to become members of any such society, *formed for party and other mischievous purposes*, he himself should have

"interest, and who experimentally remarked the exclusive preference and predilection of the members of that society in the dispensation of grace and favor from the Castle." When the 2d edition of that Preface was in the press in Dublin, Mr. Alexander Marsden, the most confidential and active Secretary under Lord Hardwicke, delivered to the author's publisher a copy of the above regimental order, which he desired might be transmitted to him in London; but without message or comment. It was received, and inserted in the 2d edition, with some appropriate observations founded upon wishes almost amounting to conviction, that his Excellency never had been sworn into an Orange lodge. Having since that time gone through a laborious investigation of that whole system, the author now finds tenfold necessity for urging his concluding observation upon that regimental order, contained in the Dublin edition of his Postliminous Preface, published by Fitzpatrick, in 1804. "It is to be lamented, that when this noble Colonel became the Chief Governor of Ireland, some act of state was not passed for checking or breaking up all those lodges or societies *formed for party and other mischievous purposes*, the evil tendency of which his Lordship once so clearly saw and prudently guarded his regiment against."

have entered amongst them.\* The knowledge of the mischievous nature and purposes of the Orange societies, produced that excellent order from Lord Hardwicke. Within two years from the date of it he was appointed Chief Governor of Ireland. Thenceforth every relation between him and the Orange societies altered. But the purposes of the societies were not changed. Nor did his Lordship's knowledge of those purposes cease. It would be irregular now to anticipate that noble lord's conduct, during an administration of five years; it will form the principal part of the ensuing volume. But from the time his Lordship enlisted himself in the service of Mr Addington, who entered into office under the avowed pledge of resisting Catholic claims, he was initiated into the use, which was to be made of these prætorian bands: he found that  
the

\* After much enquiry the author has not ascertained the fact. Had not his Lordship been sworn in, some denial or disclaimer would probably have accompanied the copy of the regimental order, which appears to have been given, with the direct view of negating that supposition. His Lordship having once dined at Mr. Beresford's riding-house by special invitation from all the Orange Lodges of Dublin, who collected there on that occasion, it was not unreasonable to presume him a member of their body. It is however no proof of his having been initiated. His Lordship's conduct, when at the head of the Government, furnished no grounds for counteracting that general presumption. But Orange secrecy baffles all enquiry.

the party and other mischievous purposes, for which those societies were formed, made the basis of that system, to the support of which he had lent his character and name. The conscious knowledge of the purposes, for which the Orange societies were formed, casts a peculiar shade upon every act of his government, by which the Orangemen were actively or passively affected. Be it generally observed, that during Lord Hardwicke's administration of five years, no vice-regal act was passed, which bore the most distant analogy to the regimental order of the 17th of April 1799.

Destructive and horrible as have been the enormities of Orangemen upon the nation since their institution, yet the evil of instituting the society, giving countenance to its progress, and indemnity to its outrages is far short of the mischief of keeping it on foot, and embodied under the protection and favor of government. Their former excesses were a temporary breach of internal peace and concord: their subsistence is a perpetuation of national rancor and disunion. The existence of such a body is incompatible with the welfare and prosperity of Ireland: and without the full and cordial energies of Ireland, the British empire cannot withstand the enemy. With the late political revolutions of empires the revolution in the mind of man

Evil of  
keeping  
Orangism  
on foot.

has kept pace. In some instances it has improved. However civil freedom may have suffered, religious slavery and persecution have every where ceased to exist, except in this Protestant united kingdom. We have ever been shamefully tardy in following the most enlightened example, when it originated from the continent. After how many years of bigotted pertinacity did Lord Chesterfield shame us out of the stupidity of rejecting the Gregorian calendar, and adopting the New Stile?

Mischief  
of coun-  
tenancing  
known  
evils.

That serious conviction of the national mischief of the Orange societies, which has brought forth this disquisition, necessary calls for the disclosure of some facts in illustration of the system carried on out of the intervening period between the rise of Orangism on the 21st of September 1795, and the commencement of the Union on the 1st of January 1801. The singular and astonishing circumstance of Lord Hardwicke's prohibiting 1000 men under his military and qualified command in 1799, to become members of any of those societies, which he knew and declared to be *formed for party and other mischievous purposes*, and his not forbidding nor preventing one out of five millions, over whom he soon after exercised sovereign command for five years, from becoming a member of those very societies, which during that period



period he cherished and kept embodied, forms a political problem, which it would be hardly safe to resolve.\* Eleven years have elapsed, since Lord Hardwicke, as colonel of a militia regiment found it necessary, for the good of his Majesty's service, to publish the regimental order of the 17th of April 1799. During five of those years his lordship exercised by deputation the executive power of Government in Ireland, and Orangism was preserved and strengthened in spirit and numbers. At the close of the eleventh year from the issuing of that regimental order, a General commanding an important district in England finds it necessary for the good of the service, and the security of the state, to pronounce in general orders, a stronger condemnation of the Orange system in 1810, than Lord Hardwicke had in 1799. The reflecting reader will, with surprize, and not without horror and dismay, mark the identity of ground, the similarity of tendency, and the increased necessity of the latter order.

The

\* The revolting depravities, which St. Paul so strongly depicted as objects of abhorrence and avoidance to Christians, in his Epistle to the Romans, were seen and perhaps practised by the Philosophic Bard, and other leading men of his day ; but *Video meliora proboque ; deteriora sequor*. The decline and fall of Roman greatness rapidly followed.

General  
Cock-  
burne's  
orders  
against  
Orang-  
ism.

The 11th Infantry lately formed part of the brigade under the command of Major General Cockburne, then quartered at Chelmsford in Essex. That regiment had been lately recruited entirely from the Irish militia, of whom a large portion were Orangemen. Scarcely had they arrived, than they began to display, (as the North Cork had been taught by their Colonel) the inflammable *insignia* of their order Orange ribbands and emblems at their breasts; and as the North Cork did at Wexford, they attempted to form Orange lodges, and propagate their order in Essex.\* *The party and other mischievous purposes* of these proceedings were not perceived

\* In the sixth year of the Orange Dynasty one and indivisible, when Thomas Verner was Grand Master, and John Claudius Beresford Grand Secretary, the prospective views of the body at large, and the special mission of their individual dignitaries were enlarged to prepare the ways of peace and union over the whole face of the empire. Their zeal was to be no longer stinted to Ireland: but from the 10th of January 1800, (the memorable æra of the revision and ultimate settlement of their legislative code) it was to range over a wider field, as the blessed precursor and co-operator in the incorporation of the two kingdoms. It may accordingly be seen, that what General Cockburne has found necessary to resist in the year 1810, had been preordained ten years before by the inspired code of the Orange Institute. The 10th of their secret articles, having this extension of their societies in view, enacts, "that any Orangeman, who acts contrary to these rules, shall be expelled, and the same reported to all the lodges in the kingdom and elsewhere."

ceived by their British fellow-soldiers, to whom the principles and practices of the Orange Societies were yet unknown. The rancor and provocation manifested thereupon by such of the Irish recruits, as were not Orangemen, became alarming, and General Cockburne, whose head and heart do credit to his country, well knowing the fatal consequences of the encouragement given to the mischievous system of Orangism in his native land, issued the following

“ GENERAL ORDERS.



“ It is Major General Cockburne’s positive  
 “ order, that no soldier in the garrison presume  
 “ to wear any badge or mark of party. Com-  
 “ manding officers of regiments, and all offi-  
 “ cers are to confine any man, who dares to  
 “ wear any ribband or emblem, which might  
 “ create disputes amongst the men. Officers  
 “ and soldiers are to wear their uniform in gar-  
 “ rison strictly according to the King’s regula-  
 “ tions. It must be evident, that this order ap-  
 “ plies chiefly to the *Irish soldiers*. The mis-  
 “ chief, which all such party divisions occasion  
 “ to the State is unfortunately too severely felt  
 “ in Ireland: nothing of the kind can be al-  
 “ lowed of here. Soldiers have no concerns  
 “ with

“ with such matters. They should serve his Majesty and their country *with unanimity*, which it is impossible for them to do, if a spirit of party be allowed in a battalion.”

Effects of  
those or-  
ders.

The pure loyalty, which dictated these orders to General Cockburne, in order to keep out the spirit of Orangism from his district, more than justifies the author's attempt, to expose its effects upon a population of five millions, whose peace and happiness it renders unattainable, and whose cordiality in defence of the empire it paralyzes or extinguishes. Whoever knows the situation of a mine, cannot *innocently* permit his friends without warning to expose themselves to the explosion.\*

The

\* Proof of Orange perseverance in persecuting an individual for 15 years demonstrates the enflamed continuance of that rancorous ferocity, in which the society was engendered, and which it can only lose with its existence. It has been before observed, that Mr Coile had been driven from Lurgan for having made a successful stand against some Orange Magistrates of Armagh; and that he fled to Dublin, whither persecution had followed him. Passing over for the present a variety of flagrant revenge exercised upon him by the Orange party during the space of time, which comprises the history of the ensuing volume, it is fitting to call the attention of the reader by anticipation to a recent document, which becomes important by exhibiting the unabated implacability of that party. In the *proceedings of the Trustees of the Linen and Hempen Manufactures of Ireland, from the 5th of July 1809,*

to

The great question of emancipating between four and five millions of his Majesty's subjects, awaiting the deliberation of the Imperial Parliament is not to be frittered into insignificance, nor defeated by forced squabbings about royal *vetos*, bickerings upon accredited agency, or shiftings behind violated pledges and retracted errors. It is a question of truth and justice: they are invariable, and will ultimately prevail even against the intolerance of irreligious bigots in place, and the inveteracy of Orange executioners in their pay. Grattan still lives to pour in upon the Imperial Parliament that torrent

Question  
of Catho-  
lic Eman-  
cipation.

to the 5th of January 1810, (p. 77.) appears the following extract.

“ At a meeting of the Trustees, &c. on Tuesday the 10th  
“ of October 1809.

“ Right Hon. David La Touche in the Chair.

“ Earl of Leitrim, Sir Neil O'Donnell, Bart.

“ Lord Norbury, Richard Gervas Ker, Esq.

“ A Memorial from Bernard Coile and William Galway

“ Dixon, Linen Merchants, was presented and read, praying

“ rooms in the Linen Hall to expose their linens for sale, as

“ from the large consignments they have received, their house in

“ Linenhall-street is totally inadequate to answer that pur-

“ pose.”

“ Ordered,

“ That said Memorial be rejected.”

*Vide* note, p. 30.

rent of eloquence, which astonished and confounded the corrupted phalanx in the Irish Parliament in 1795. Great intermediate events have justified his words, and he is entirely devoted to co-operate with his country towards their accomplishment. " Go to France, (said he then, " and will again say) go to America, carry your " properties, manufactures and families to some " land, that may admit you to a freedom you " shall never participate in your own. This is a " sentence, that requires the malignity of a " demon, and the omnipotence of a God. You " are not competent to pronounce it. Believe " me, you may as well stamp your foot upon " the earth, and expect by that resistance to " stop the diurnal revolution, which advances " you to the morning sun, that is to shine alike " on the Catholic and the Protestant, as you " can hope to arrest the progress of the other " lights of justice and reason, which approach " to liberalize the Protestant and liberate the " Catholic. Even now the question is on its " way, and making its destined and irresistible " progress, which you with all your authority, " have no power to controul, any more than any " other great truth or ordinance of nature or " law of motion, which mankind is free to contemplate, but cannot counteract. Such is the " justice linked with their cause, and such is  
 " the

"the strength, that sets forth their application."

It would be foreign from the purpose of this disquisition to follow the manœuvres, by which Lord Cornwallis and his underling Lord Castlereagh accomplished the summit of Mr. Pitt's immediate ambition, the degradation and emasculation of Ireland by *legislative union*. When that object had been obtained by a *managed* majority of fifty-eight, Mr. Pitt and his colleagues slunk out of office to make room for those satellites in his train, who were ready to perpetrate the deed, from which the projector shrunk. They quitted office, leaving as their written pledge to the Catholics purported, *many characters of eminence (including of course their own) pledged not to embark in the service of Government, except on the term of the Catholic privileges being obtained*. Afterwards Mr. Pitt returned to office under a counter pledge of never bringing forward, or supporting the Catholic claims; and Lord Cornwallis accepted of the government of India, but never stood up in Parliament to enforce them.\*

Insincerity of promises of emancipation.

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It

\* The interesting transactions of the downfall of Mr. Pitt's administration will regularly occur in the ensuing history. They are here generally referred to, that the reader may not be left in total darkness, as to the denouement of that piece of politics, on which Mr. Pitt rested his reputation with posterity.

Lord  
Cornwal-  
lis keeps  
up the  
Orange-  
men.

It requires no great depth of reflection to perceive, that Lord Cornwallis by an external change of

posterity. In deference to his readers, the author here thinks it proper to repeat in print (Vide his Posthumous Preface, p. 33.) that "whilst he gave credit to his Majesty's ministers for sincerely following up the Union with all the advantages it was capable of, the primary object of his writing the *Historical Review of the State of Ireland*, was to convert the truth of Irish history into evidence of the utility and advantages of incorporate Union. It was but consistent, therefore, that the historian should, as far as truth would bear him out, commend the system of Lord Cornwallis's administration, which certainly became indirect censure upon the opposite system pursued by his predecessors." The author fairly owns, that up to the month of September, 1804, at which time he had a conference with Mr. Addington on the subject, he gave Lord Cornwallis unreserved credit for having endeavoured sincerely to defeat and overturn the former system of governing Ireland, and substituting liberality and justice in lieu of intolerance and acerbity. He was further confirmed in those sentiments by a letter, which he had then recently received from the Marquis containing these words, *my sentiments with regard to Ireland are well known by the measures I pursued, and those which I recommended. Since that time, he has from much research, experience and reflection been compelled to reject the measures of some public men, as a criterion of their real sentiments. Upon Mr. Addington's unexpected admission to place, he was for the first time initiated into the whole mystery of the preconcerted plan of promising and refusing emancipation to the Irish Catholics. Flashed with the novel consequence of office, he boasted of the real views of his predecessors, which had been so specially confided to him to carry into final effect.*

He



of system had even before the close of the year 1798 not only put down the rebels, but curbed and tamed their more dangerous provokers the Orangemen. So far had he fulfilled his mission from Mr. Pitt to prepare the country for external union. The extension of the Orange system in Wexford, after the close of that insurrection, the increased acerbity of the Orangemen throughout that county, and the general opposition, which he every where experienced from them to his measures of lenity and conciliation, must have

s 2

convinced

He had not yet completely fitted the glove of office to his hand. He was a new recruit, suddenly raised from the ranks, and spoke some truth. From that hour the author became truly sensible of his own want of *political sagacity*. "Mr. Addington scouted the idea of any difference of principle or system in the two governments of Earl Camden and Marquis Cornwallis. It was an identity of spirit and principle, applicable to the varying circumstances of a rising, raging and expiring rebellion. Mr. Addington very significantly assured the author, that he (the author) knew not the grounds, views or motives of Lord Cornwallis's administration." For the sake of poor, baffled and persecuted Ireland, the author laments the truth then uttered. At the same interview Mr. Addington assumed official merit for standing in that house (in Downing-street) by his *pledged resistance to the Catholic claims, from which he was never to be moved*. Ireland will not be insensible to the difference of Lord Grenville's conduct from that of his colleague. His Lordship refused to return to power with Mr. Pitt, and spurned with indignation the proffered pledge to hold place on the tenure of keeping back and resisting a measure supereminently necessary to the preservation of the empire.

convinced his mind, that their subsistence as a body was utterly inconsistent with the internal union and permanent security of the kingdom. With more ease might they have been then collectively extinguished, than individually restrained from outrage. They were known to be united by secret and unlawful oaths; and their conduct had been notoriously atrocious. Had government sincerely wished internal and permanent concord, they would have so completely eradicated the plants of discord, as not to leave a chance for the hope of resuscitation. They kept on foot the Society of Orangemen as a *corps de reserve*, and constituted them a body guard to the Irish party, which under the religious cant of *Protestant ascendancy*, stipulated for the continuance of their own monopoly of civil power. From that moment, the insidious, specious and equivocal term *Protestant ascendancy*, was formally adopted, and became the rallying phrase and signal for calling together all Orange Protestants, and many, who would have opposed it, had it been denominated by its true appellation of an *Irish oligarchy under British ascendancy*.

Import of  
the term  
*Protestant  
ascendancy*.

It falls not within the province of the historian to discuss philologically the import of terms and phrases. He considers them to bear the meaning

meaning and purport, which obviously direct the views and motives of the generality of mankind in acting upon them. The phrase *Protestant ascendancy* is *ex vi termini* open to an indefinite variety of interpretation. For the last fifteen years and upwards it has received a specific and appropriate import, in the acceptation of which every part of the nation has acquiesced. From the acts themselves, not from the explanations, palliatives or justifications of the actors is the judgment to be formed. From the time that Ireland acquired legislative independence in 1782, it ceased to be the language of the Castle, that the *English interest or ascendancy* was to be kept up. The power was to be supported, but the term was to be altered. Instead of *English*; the more imposing word *Protestant* was annexed to that ascendancy, which was actually kept on foot. When Mr. Pitt had contrived to dash from the lips of the nation the cup of promised and expected freedom, by betraying and deceiving the virtuous Fitzwilliam with the intrigues of Mr. Beresford, he set up the golden image of *Protestant ascendancy*, and \* “sent to “gather together the princes and governors, the “captains, the judges, the treasurers, the coun- “sellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the pro- “vinces, to come to the dedication of the image, “which Nebuchadnezzar the King had set up.” “And

\* Dan. iii. 2.

*And they fell down and worshipped the golden image."* However the phrase may from that hour have been understood by individuals, it was exclusively acted upon in the sense of direct opposition to Catholic concession. This appears evident from the address of the Grand Lodge to the Orangemen of Ireland, on the 21st of January 1800, precisely ten days after they had made their resolution to support the *Protestant ascendancy* (in this particular sense) the basis of their obligation, the link of their secrecy and the measure of their allegiance. In the minds of upright and unsuspecting Protestants, the support of the *Protestant ascendancy* would mean no more than to support the limitation of the Crown under the act of Settlement; which is expressed in the most pointed manner in the oath of allegiance taken by Catholics, as well as by Protestants. In the affectionation of this ordinary and obvious sense of loyalty do these renovated and reformed Orangemen hold themselves out to the nation as being associated to support and defend his majesty King George, the constitution and laws of the country, and succession to the throne in his Majesty's illustrious house, being Protestants. To do this most Catholics had sworn, and every one was ready to swear, nearly in the words of this Orange declaration. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that whenever specific duties and sentiments

ments are introduced into oaths, they are expressed in the most obvious, precise, and unambiguous words. Who would not expect from men voluntarily and solemnly laying before their countrymen the object of their associating in so awful a juncture, that their obligation and oath should be commensurate with, and conducive to the ends of their association. How do they tally? No Catholic would refuse to submit or swear to the substance of that declaration. Most of them have actually done so. But the *obligation* of an Orangeman runs in these words: *I, A. B. do solemnly and sincerely swear, of my own free will and accord, that I will to the utmost of my power support and defend the present King George the Third, his heirs and successors, as long as he and they support the Protestant ascendancy, &c.\** Here is an *absolute declaration* redundantly vaunting sworn and known duties, of which no man can doubt, and which no man refuses. There is a *conditional oath* to support what no ten men may define alike, and stinting the allegiance of the subject to his own arbitrary construction of the term *Protestant ascendancy*. In the common acceptance of words, what man of sense would, what man of loyalty could subscribe such oath and obligation?

The

\* Rules and regulations *postea*.

Efforts to  
forward  
the  
Union.

The whole of the year 1799 was consumed by Mr. Pitt and Lord Cornwallis in preparing, canvassing and courting for the Union. In and out of parliament, addresses, petitions, motions and proposals were made to forward and ensure that measure. No means were omitted, which were calculated to advance it from any quarter. Personal applications were made by the Lord Lieutenant in a viceregal tour through the kingdom to such members of parliament and persons of influence in the country, as he thought open. The amiable qualities and delusive pledges of the viceroy gained him more proselytes, than he had anticipated. To the Catholics he held out emancipation as the sure boon of their support. They trusted him, and he failed. To the Orangemen he pledged amnesty and favour. They mistrusted him, and were preserved for future services. Even then was it doomed by Mr. Pitt,\* that the question,

\* Conscious, that some staunch friends to Ireland give Mr. Pitt credit for sincerity in all his declarations and pledges about her, and his real earnestness and inability to carry the question of emancipation, it becomes a painful duty to submit to the reader the grounds for differing from that opinion. Against Mr. Pitt's actual resignation of office on that alleged ground, must be placed his return to office under a counter pledge, to hold back and resist the question; as he notoriously did, when brought forward by his colleague  
Lord

tion of Catholic emancipation was to be brought forward and crushed by the *Protestant ascendancy*

Lord Grenville. Mr. Pitt had long felt himself absolute master of the *Protestant ascendancy*. In 1792 he received an holocaust to its omnipotence, when not a member of the Commons dared to stand up in his place to support the Catholic petition. But few months passed away, and the golden object of adoration was cast prostrate at the feet of that very Parliament, which now had it in command from the British minister, to grant the whole of what he had just forbidden them to listen to. Mr. Pitt might then have as easily carried the complete emancipation, as that portion of it, which was actually conceded. He held back enough to keep the *Protestant ascendancy* and the *Catholics* in his dependance. He had further views: and all was to be subservient to the Union. Had he not raised the Catholics into some political consequence by the act of 1793, their support of it would have been worthless. But his concession of so much commanded the unreserved support of those, who trusted in his promises and pledges, that the whole should follow. The next year Mr. Pitt was made sensible, that Catholic influence became national strength: he foresaw in the growth of internal concord the inevitable defeat of his favourite plan of external union. He was incensed at the loss of the *aquilibrium*, which he fancied he had secured: so rapid had been the descent of the *Protestant ascendancy*, since national harmony had begun to displace religious discord. The Catholic influence was to be lowered by fresh triumphs of the *Protestant ascendancy*. The Catholics were to be raised to the summit of expectation, in order to be let down with violence, and weakened to impotency by the fall. The *Protestant ascendancy* was to be taken up from its late prostration by a renewed commission to divide, irritate and degrade.

Legislative

*dancy*, whose management for a time he had ostensibly renounced.

The

Legislative Union could not be forced upon Ireland in health, vigour and harmony. It could only be imposed upon her, in the fatal hour of exhaustion, debility and discord. The power and influence, which Mr. Pitt possessed (especially by the coalition of the Whig party in England) in 1794 and 1795 gave him more facilities to carry the whole question at that time, than he commanded of passing the previous concessions in 1793. It is impossible, that the mind of Mr. Pitt should not have been equally open to the merits of the question, in the years 1795, 1799 and 1801. Had it been acceded to in 1795, it would have prevented a rebellion; in 1799 it would have enabled Ireland to resist external Union; and in 1801 it would have preserved the country from the still unmeasured evil of ministers successively pledged by official tenure to thwart her wishes, damp her energies, and perpetuate her proscription. Without fathoming private motives, historical evidence demonstrates, that Mr. Pitt as fully knew the fate of the Catholic question in 1800, when by the delusive prospect of its success he cajoled the Catholic into a support of the Union, as he did in 1801, when, by anticipating its failure, he took that pretext for retiring from office. It can never be forgotten, that in the papers written by Mr. Pitt and Lord Cornwallis given by the latter to Dr. Troy and Lord Fingall on the same day, Mr. Pitt assured the Catholics, *that he would do his utmost to establish their cause in the public, and prepare the way for their finally attaining their objects. And Lord Cornwallis reminded them to be sensible of the benefit they possess, by having so many characters of eminence pledged not to embark in the service of government, except on the terms of the Catholic privileges being obtained.*

They both did embark in the service of government, and the Catholic privileges have not been obtained. Mr. Pitt, as  
the



The generality of Orangemen were individually adverse to the Union. They foresaw in the absorption of their country's power the final extinction of that very monopoly, by which they subsisted. The Lord Lieutenant having successfully treated with Lord Clare and Mr. Beresford, found himself strong enough to resist the exorbitant demands of Mr. Foster, and bad defiance to his powerful opposition to the measure of Union. The Orangemen came to an understanding with the Chief Governor, that provided they were formally permitted to make *Protestant ascendancy* (in other words, future resistance to Catholic concession) not only the bond and ostensible test of their union, but the condition and measure of their allegiance, they would abstain, as a body, from opposing the Union, and so model and moderate the rules and regulations of their Society, that no upright Protestant should in future be shocked with the oath of extermination, or deterred from entering into their Society by any pledge, obligation or oath unpalatable to the most tender Protestant conscience. In pursuance of this understanding, the following advertisement appeared in all the public prints.

Orange-  
men na-  
turally  
against  
Union.

T 2

GRAND

the first minister of the Crown opposed them when brought forward. Lord Cornwallis never once stood up to support them.

Orange  
advertis-  
ment not  
to inter-  
fere with  
Union.

## GRAND LODGE.

To the Orangemen of Ireland.

*Dublin, Jan. 21, 1800.*

The Grand Lodge of Ireland observe with heartfelt satisfaction, that their former recommendation to their brethren to abstain, as Orangemen, from any discussion of the question of Union has had the happiest effects, in as much as it has disappointed the sanguine and malignant hopes entertained by the enemies to religion and good order, that such discussion would be productive of discord amongst Orangemen. They now feel it their duty to offer some further observations on the present juncture of affairs.

Orangemen in different capacities, as Members of Parliament, Grand Jurors, Freeholders and Members of Corporate Bodies, have opportunities of debating the important question of an Union. But it is the earnest entreaty of the Grand Lodge, that as a Society, they will continue silent. For as every Orangeman, however zealous, may, and no doubt will from local circumstances conceive different ideas of the subject, the discussion of a question of such  
magnitude

magnitude involving not only great imperial topics, but also matters of local advantage and local disadvantage must unavoidably create a division in opinion, *and an house divided against itself cannot stand*. It is therefore recommended to all Orangemen to keep in mind the great object, for which they have associated, to wit.

“ We associate to the utmost of our power to  
 “ support and defend his Majesty King George  
 “ the Third, the constitution and laws of this  
 “ country, and the succession to the throne in  
 “ his Majesty’s illustrious house being Protes-  
 “ tants, for the defence of our persons and pro-  
 “ perties, and to maintain the peace of our coun-  
 “ try : and for these purposes we will be at all  
 “ times ready to assist the civil and military  
 “ powers, in the just and lawful discharge of  
 “ their duty,” and to avoid as injurious to the  
 institution all controversy upon subjects not  
 connected with our principles.

THOMAS VERNER, Grand Master.

JOHN C. BERESFORD, Grand Sec.

Shortly before this time the Orangemen, then New rules organized into a very numerous Society, had re- and regu-  
 vised their statutes and ordinances, and reduced lations of  
 them into a more plausible and more insidious form. the Socie-  
 As secrecy however was the soul of their institu- ty of  
 tion, Orange-

tion, these new rules and regulations, by which the Society has from that time been governed, though printed, were most cautiously kept from the unhallowed eye of their proscribed neighbours. As the subsistence of this Society appears to be an irremovable obstacle to the permanent peace and prosperity of Ireland, we have found it a duty of allegiance to place before the eyes of government and the public a full and authentic copy of those rules and regulations, by reference to which the foregoing details will be fairly considered and finally and impartially judged of.

Conclu-  
sive ob-  
serva-  
tion.

One observation occurs upon the following rules and regulations, which without further comment we recommend to the sympathetic reflection of the reader; more particularly so, should these sheets chance to fall under the eye of any gentleman, on whom rests a public duty to watch and preserve the tranquillity and welfare of the country.

As the Orangeman's oath is expressed and administered, it is at common law unlawful, illegal, and even treasonable, and by an existing Statute felonious. The Author therefore challenges every loyal subject, who by having taken it, or otherwise has obtained more certain knowledge, than he has, of the *party and other mischievous purposes* of their oath and association to come forward

ward and help to the extinction of that *traitorous conspiracy*, which binds its members to a system essentially destructive \* of the loyalty, peace, concord, prosperity, and stability of the country.

\* That the factitious spirit of Orangism still subsists under the affected discouragement and real protection of government, is evident from what passed within these last three weeks, viz. on the 23d of March, at the Omagh Assizes. Thomas Hogan, a corporal of the King's County Militia, was indicted for the murder of four Orange yeomen. He was acquitted of the murder, and, by the direction of the judge, Mr. Serjeant Moore, found guilty of manslaughter. About 300 Orange yeomen had assembled, armed and accoutred at Omagh, to commemorate the battle of Aughrim, on the 12th of last August. On the same day, 50 of the King's County Militia, who had volunteered for the army, marched into Omagh unarmed from Strabane. Fifty of their comrades had for some time occupied the barracks in Omagh. One of the volunteers was insulted by the Yeomen's forcing off, and trampling upon his cap, because it was bound with *green* tape, which, though regimental, was termed a rebellious colour by the Orangemen. Much abuse, and a general attack of the unarmed volunteers by the dastardly and overbearing Orangemen ensued. The volunteers retreated to the barracks, and there with their comrades in defending themselves, shot the four yeomen, for which their corporal was indicted. When it shall please his Majesty to shake off the chains from Ireland; and bless her with a governor of sufficient wisdom and virtue to root up and utterly dissolve the Orange Societies, then, and then only, may she congratulate with herself on being released from captivity and fetters. "Now I know of a surety, that the Lord hath sent his angel, and hath delivered me out of the hand of Herod, and from all the expectation of the people of the Jews." *Acts. xii. 11.*

The Work in hand, to which this discussion is the introduction, is intended to be comprized in one volume *in Octavo*, to be a sequel to *The History of Ireland, from its Invasion under Henry II. to its Union with Great Britain*, by the Author, in two volumes. The communication of any important and well authenticated document relating to the recent History of Ireland, made to Mr. Coyne, Capel-street, Dublin, will be received with gratitude, and used with fidelity by the Author.

**RULES**

# RULES AND REGULATIONS

FOR THE USE OF ALL

## ORANGE SOCIETIES:

REVISED AND CORRECTED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE

GRAND ORANGE LODGE OF IRELAND.

AND ADOPTED BY THE GRAND ORANGE LODGE, JAN. 10, 1800.



DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY AN ORANGEMAN.



1800.



### *General declaration of the objects of the Orange Institution.*

**W**E associate, to the utmost of our Power, to support and defend his Majesty, King George the Third, the Constitution and Laws of this country, and the Succession to the Throne in his Majesty's illustrious House, being Protestants: for the defence of our persons and properties; and to maintain the peace of the country; and for these purposes we will be at all times ready to assist the Civil and Military Powers, in the just and lawful discharge of their duty. We also associate in Honour of King William the Third, Prince of Orange, whose  
Name

name we bear, as supporters of his glorious Memory, and the true Religion by him completely established in these Kingdoms. And, in order to prove our gratitude and affection for his Name, we will annually celebrate the Victory over James at the Boyne, on the first day of July O. S. in every year, which day shall be our grand Æra for ever.

We further declare that we are exclusively a Protestant Association; yet, detesting as we do any intolerant spirit, we solemnly pledge ourselves to each other, that we will not persecute, injure, or upbraid any person on account of his religious Opinions, provided the same be not hostile to the State; but that we will on the contrary, be aiding, and assisting to every loyal subject of every religious description, in protecting him from violence and oppression.

### *Qualifications requisite for an Orangeman.*

He should have a sincere Love and Veneration for his Almighty Maker, productive of those lively and happy Fruits, Righteousness, and Obedience to his Commands; a firm and stedfast Faith in the Saviour of the World; convinced that he is the only Mediator between a sinful Creature, and an offended Creator. Without these he cannot be a Christian; of an humane and compassionate disposition; and a courteous and affable behaviour. He should be an utter enemy to savage brutality, and unchristian cruelty; a lover of society, and improving company; and have a laudable regard for the Protestant Religion, and a sincere desire to propagate its Precepts; zealous in promoting the honor, happiness, and prosperity of his King and Country; heartily desirous of victory and success in those pursuits, yet convinced and assured, that God alone can grant them. He should have an hatred of cursing and swearing, and taking the name of God in vain, (a shameful practice;) and he should use all opportunities of  
discovering



discovering it among his Brethren. Wisdom and Prudence should guide his actions; honesty and integrity direct his conduct, and honour, and glory of his King and Country, be the motives of his endeavours. Lastly, he should pay the strictest attention to a religious observance of the Sabbath; and also to temperance, and sobriety.

### *Obligation of an Orangeman.*

I. A. B. do solemnly and sincerely swear, of my own free will and accord, that I will, to the utmost of my power, support and defend the present King, George the Third, his Heirs and Successors, so long as he or they support the Protestant Ascendancy, the Constitutions and Laws of these Kingdoms; and that I will ever hold sacred the name of our Glorious Deliverer, William the Third, Prince of Orange: and I do further swear, that I am not, nor ever was a Roman Catholic, or Papist; that I was not, am not, nor ever will be an United Irishman; and that I never took the Oath of secrecy to that, or any other Treasonable Society: and I do further swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will always conceal, and never will reveal, either part or parts of what is now to be privately communicated to me, until I shall be authorised so to do by the proper authorities of the Orange Institution; that I will neither write it, nor indite it, stamp, stain, or engrave it, nor cause it so to be done, on paper, parchment, leaf, bark, stick, stone, or any thing, so that it may be known; and I do further swear, that I have not, to my knowledge or belief, been proposed and rejected in, or expelled from any other Orange Lodge; and that I now become an Orangeman without fear, bribery, or corruption.

SO HELP ME GOD.

### *Secret Articles.*

1st. That we will bear true allegiance to his Majesty, King George the Third, his Heirs and Successors, so long as he or they

they support the Protestant Ascendancy ; and that we will faithfully support and maintain the Laws and Constitution of these Kingdoms.

2nd. That we will be true to all Orangemen in all just actions, neither wronging one, nor seeing him wronged to our knowledge, without acquainting him thereof.

3d. That we are not to see a Brother offended for sixpence, or one shilling, or more, if convenient, which must be returned next meeting if possible.

4th. We must not give the first assault to any person whatever, that may bring a Brother into trouble,

5th. We are not to carry away money, goods, or any thing from any person whatever, except arms and ammunition, and those only from an enemy.

6th. We are to appear in ten hours warning, or whatever time is required, if possible (provided it is not hurtful to ourselves or families, and that we are served with a lawful summons from the Master,) otherwise we are fined as the company think proper.

7th. No man can be made an Orangeman without the unanimous approbation of the body.

8th. An Orangeman is to keep a Brother's secrets as his own, unless in case of Murder, Treason, and Perjury ; and that of his own free will.

9th. No Roman Catholic can be admitted on any account.

10th. Any Orangeman, who acts contrary to these Rules, shall be expelled, and the same reported to all the Lodges in the Kingdom and elsewhere.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

*Markman's*

### *Marksman's Obligation.*

I, A. B. of my own free will and accord, in the Presence of Almighty God, do hereby most solemnly and sincerely Swear, that I will always conceal, and never will reveal either part or parts of what is now to be privately communicated to me, until I shall be duly authorised so to do by the proper authority of the Orange Institution; and that I will bear true allegiance to his Majesty, King George the Third, his Heirs and Successors, so long as he or they maintain the Protestant Ascendancy, the Constitution and Laws of these Kingdoms; and that I will keep this part of a Marksman from an Orangeman, as well as from the ignorant; and that I will not make a Man, until I become, and only whilst I shall be Master of an Orange Lodge; and that I will not make a Man, or be present at the making of a Man on the Road, or behind Hedges; and that I will be aiding and assisting to all true honest Orange Marksmen, as far as in my power lies, knowing him or them to be such; and that I will not wrong a Brother Marksman, or know him to be wronged of any thing of value, worth apprehending, but I will warn or apprize him thereof, if in my power it lies. All this I swear, with a firm resolution; So help me God, and keep me stedfast in this my Marksman's obligation.

### *General Rules for the Government of Orange Lodges.*

1st. That every Member of the Orange Institution, should undergo a new Election, whenever the Grand Lodge may think it expedient.

2nd. That each Lodge now existing, shall, on such occasion, elect by ballot five of its Members, that those five Members shall then proceed to re-admit, or reject the remaining Members  
of

of such Lodge; and that each Member, as he shall be so re-admitted, shall become qualified to proceed with the said five original Members to the further re-election of others: but that, in the event of any Person's being discontinued as a Member of this Lodge, or wishing to become a member of another, he cannot be ballotted for in any other, without producing to the committee of such Lodge, a Certificate from his former Lodge, specifying the cause of such change; and that he is a fit and proper Person to be admitted, or continued an Orangeman.

3d. That each Lodge shall have a Master and Deputy Master, a Secretary and Deputy Secretary, and Treasurer, and five Committee Men; the Master to be appointed by the Lodge; the Deputy Master, Secretary, Deputy Secretary, and Treasurer, by the Master, with the approbation of his own Lodge; and the first Committee-man by the Master; the second by the first; and so on until the number of five be completed:—the Election to each of those Offices to take place on the first day of June, for one year from the first day of July; which Election, and every other Change or Alteration that may take place, shall be forthwith certified to the Grand Master of the County, or City, to be by him forwarded to the Grand Lodge.

4th. The Master, Deputy Master, Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Treasurer, and the five Committee Men, upon their appointment, shall take the following Obligations:

*M. ; D. ; M. ; S. ; T. ; and C. Mens' Obligation.*

I, A. B. do solemnly and sincerely Swear, that I was not, nor am not a Roman Catholic or Papist; that I was not, am not, nor ever will be an United Irishman; and that I never took the Oath of Secrecy to that, or any other Treasonable Society.

*For*

*For the Master, and Deputy Master, add*

That I am not now made a Master for any private Emolument, or Advantage; that I have not a Sitting in my House for the purpose of selling Beer, Spirits, or any other Liquor; that I will not knowingly admit, or consent any person for me shall admit any one into the Society of Orangemen, who was, or is a Papist, or has been an United Irishman, or has taken their Oath of Secresy: that I will use my authority to keep proper Behaviour and Sobriety in this Lodge; and that I will not Certify for any person, without having first proved him, and being satisfied in my conscience that he is a person of good character.

SO HELP ME GOD.

*For the Secretary and Deputy Secretary, add*

And that I will, to the utmost of my power, keep safe the Papers belonging to the Lodge; and that I will not give any copy of the Secret Articles, or lend them to make an Orangeman out of the Lodge I belong to; or lend the Seal, so that it may be affixed to any forged paper, or irregular Orangeman's Certificate.

*For the Treasurer, add*

And that I will fairly account for all money I have, or may receive for the use of this Lodge, when called upon by the Master of this Lodge.

SO HELP ME GOD.

*For the Committee Men, add*

And that whenever I may be called upon to act in the absence of the Master and Deputy Master, I will not knowingly

ingly admit any one into the Society of Orangemen, who was, or is a Papist, or has been an United Irishman; or has taken their Oath of Secrecy; and that I will use my authority to keep proper behaviour and sobriety in this Lodge.

SO HELP ME GOD.

5th. That the affairs of each Lodge be conducted by the Master, Deputy Master, Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Treasurer, and the five Committee Men.

6th. That in the absence of the Master, the Deputy Master shall preside, and, in his absence, the senior Committee Man, who shall be present; but that no other person whatever shall have the power of making an Orangeman.

7th. That each Candidate for admission, shall in future be certified to be eighteen years of age; and that he shall be proposed by one, and seconded by another member at one meeting; and admitted, or rejected at a subsequent one: but no ballot can take place, unless the person proposing, or seconding, be present.

8th. That one negative shall exclude.

9th. That any person, wishing to become an Orangeman, must be admitted in the Lodge nearest his place of abode (except in cities or great towns,) or have a recommendation from that Lodge, that he is a proper person, before any other Lodge can accept him.

10th. That the names of persons withdrawn and rejected in, or expelled from any Lodge, shall be forthwith sent by the Masters, or Secretary, to the District Master, with the objections to such persons; in order that the District Master may communicate the same to other Lodges; as those, who are unfit for one Lodge, must be so for every other.

11th. That each Member on admission, shall pay -----.

12th. That

12th. That Masters of Lodges do make returns to their District Masters, of the number, names and places of abode of the Members of their respective Lodges every six months.

13th. That in order to establish a fund to defray the various and necessary expences of the Grand Lodge, in all Lodges one fifth of the sum be paid by members on their first admission shall be continued to be paid annually, by half-yearly payments, that is, on every first day of May and every first day of November, to the Treasurer of their respective Lodges; who shall hand over the amount to the District Master, to be by him remitted, through the Grand Master of the County or City, to the Grand Treasurer of Ireland: the Treasurer of each Lodge to be accountable according to the return made previous to the days above specified.

14th. That, as Regiments are considered as Districts, the Masters of all Regimental Lodges do make half-yearly returns of the number, names and rank of the Members of their Lodges to the Secretary of the Grand Lodge; but that they shall not make an Orangeman, except the Officers, Non-commissioned Officers and Privates of their respective Regiments; and that they do remit to the Grand Treasurer of Ireland the half-yearly subscription, as well as that, which is immediately to take place.

15th. That no Visitor shall be admitted into any Lodge, unless introduced by a Member; and that new Members shall not be initiated in the presence of any Visitors, save Masters and Deputy Masters.

16th. That no Master shall initiate any Orangeman into the Purple Order, who does not belong to his Lodge, or without a written recommendation from the Master of the Lodge, to which such Orangeman may belong: and that no Member can, on any account, be raised to the dignity of the Purple

B

Order,

Order, who has not been an Orangeman for twelve months at least, and has attended eight monthly meetings during that period; save in the instance of a Member, who has been elected to the Office of Master, Deputy Master, Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Treasurer, or Committee Man.

17th. All Members to be subordinate to the Master, or Person presiding for him, who shall have full power of fining all disorderly persons to an amount not exceeding —.

18th. Any dispute arising, not provided for by the rules, is to be decided by the Officers of the Lodge; and the parties must abide by their decision, on pain of expulsion, saving the right of appeal in all such cases to the Grand Lodge.

19th. That each new resolution shall remain on the books from one meeting to the subsequent one, previously to its being adopted or rejected by the majority of the Lodge then present.

20th. That no Election or other business do take place, unless ten Members at least be present, provided the Lodge consist of so many: if it do not, then two-thirds of the Members must be present.

21st. That no business be done in any Lodge after dinner, supper, or drink have been brought in; but every motion shall be previously decided.

22nd. No person attending intoxicated can be initiated at that meeting: any old Member so attending shall be fined.

23d. The Secretary is to read out, before the books are closed, the names of persons proposed for the next night.

24th. A person is to attend on the outside of the door, while business is going on: that person to be nominated by the Master, or whoever may preside at the time.

*Order*



### *Order of Business for each Night.*

1st. Lodge to open with a Prayer (Members standing.) 2nd. General Rules read. 3d. Members proposed. 4th. Report from Committee. 5th. Names of Members called over. 6th. Members ballotted for. 7th. Members made. 8th. Lodge to close with a Prayer, (Members standing.)

### *Rules for the Formation of Districts, &c. &c.*

1st. That Masters of Counties, and Cities do divide their respective Counties, and Cities into Districts, according to local circumstances: not more than five Lodges to constitute a District, unless they may see reason to extend the number. The Masters of Lodges, so forming a District, to elect a Master for that District. Should the choice, of a District Master fall on any private Member of a Lodge within the District; that then such Person shall cease to be a private Member of that Lodge, so long as he shall continue in such Office.

2nd. That during the absence, suspension, or non-election of a District Master, the senior Master in the District, shall act for the time; the seniority to be determined by the number of the Lodge, to which the Master may belong.

3rd. That the Election to the Office of District-Master shall take place on the first day of June, for one year to the first day of July.

4th. That District-Masters shall make returns of the number of Names, and Places of Abode of the Members of the different Lodges within their respective Districts, to the Grand Master of their County, or City every six Months.

*Regulations*

*Regulations for the Appointment of Grand Masters,  
Deputy Grand Masters of Counties, and Cities.*

1st, That a Grand Master for each County, and City shall be chosen by the District-Masters of such County and City, and a Deputy Grand Master by the Grand Master; both subject to the approval of the Grand Lodge. Should the choice of a Grand Master, or a Deputy Grand Master of a County, or City, fall on any private Member of a Lodge within the County or City, of which he is chosen Grand Master, or Deputy Grand Master, that then such person shall cease to be a private Member of that Lodge, so long as he shall continue in such Office.

2nd, That the Grand Masters, and Deputy Grand Masters of Counties, and Cities shall be Elected on the first day of July in every year.

3rd, That in any County, or City, in which there shall be less than three Districts, the senior District-Master shall, with the approbation of the Grand Lodge, act as Grand Master for that County, or City.

4th, That during the absence, suspension, or non-election of a Grand Master of a County or City, the Deputy Grand Master shall act; and, should the Grand Master, and Deputy Grand Master be absent at the same time, or in case both Offices should be vacant, then the senior District Master; the seniority, in all such cases, to be determined by the number of the Lodge, to which such District Master may belong.

5th, That Grand Masters of Counties, and Cities, do forward to the Secretary of the Grand Lodge, every six months, such Returns, as shall be made to them by their District-Masters, of the Number, Names, and Places of Abode, of the Members of the different Lodges, within their respective Counties

Counties, and Cities : and that they do remit to the Grand Treasurer of Ireland the half yearly Subscription from such Lodges, as well as that, which is immediately to take place.

*Rules for the Formation of the Grand Lodge.*

1st, That the Grand Lodge shall be formed anew.

2nd, That the Grand Lodge shall consist of Grand Masters of Counties, and Cities, their Deputies, District Masters, Masters of Lodges, and in their absence, Deputy Masters of Lodges: from amongst whom shall be chosen a Grand Master for Ireland, a Grand Secretary, and a Grand Treasurer: the Election to each of these Offices to take place on the first day of July, O. S. in every Year.

3rd, That all Authority necessary for the Advancement, and Welfare of the Orange Institution, shall be vested in the Grand Lodge.

4th, That the Grand Lodge do meet in the Metropolis four times in each year, for the general Government of the Orange Societies; to wit, on the seventh day of February, the seventh day of May, the seventh day of August, and the seventh day of November; and that the Committee do lay before them, at such Quarterly Meetings, a Report of their Proceedings, for the approbation of the Grand Lodge.

5th, That the ordinary business of the Orange system be transacted by a Standing Committee, to consist of such Members of the Grand Lodge as may be in Dublin; and to which the Grand Lodge shall have the Power of calling in the aid of men of known Zeal and Talents, not to exceed twenty one, to be selected by them from the Purple Order: such persons from the time of their being so chosen, to be considered as Members of the Grand Lodge. Provided always that such Committee shall only exist until the 7th day of August next ensuing, the day of their being appointed, or chosen.

6th. That

6th, That in every meeting of such Committee, in the absence of the Grand Master, the senior Member who shall be present, shall act as Chairman of that Meeting; the Seniority to be determined by the Number of the Lodge, to which such Member may belong; and that seven shall be a Quorum.

7th, That the Secretary to the Grand Lodge shall be Secretary to this Committee.

8th, That as the Office of Secretary to the Grand Lodge is attended with great Expence; and requires constant Labour, and Attendance: therefore, it is expedient, that all the Expenses incurred in the execution of that Office, shall be defrayed by the Grand Lodge; and that the person, filling it, shall be allowed an adequate Compensation for his Trouble, and Attendance, which shall be paid one Quarter in Advance.

### *Prayer for opening the Lodge.*

Gracious and Almighty God, who in all ages hast shewn thy mighty power in protecting righteous Kings and States, we yield thee hearty Thanks for so miraculously bringing to light, and frustrating the secret and horrible designs of our enemies, plotted and intended to have been executed against our Gracious King, our happy Constitution, and the true religion established by our Glorious Deliverer, William the Third Prince of Orange.

Vouchsafe, O Lord, to continue unto us thine Almighty protection, grant to our pious King, long Life, Health and Prosperity; let thy Providence guard our happy Constitution, and enable us to transmit it to our latest Posterity, unimpaired, and improved by our Holy Religion. Bless, we beseech thee, every Member of the Orange Institution, with Charity, Brotherly Love, and Loyalty: make us truly respectable

ble here on Earth, and eternally happy hereafter. These and all other blessings, we beg in the Name, and through the mediation of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. *Amen.*

### OR THIS:

Almighty God, and Heavenly Father, who in all ages has shewed thy Power and Mercy, in graciously and miraculously delivering thy Church, and in protecting righteous and religious Kings and States from the wicked Conspiracies, and malicious Practices of all the Enemies thereof; we yield thee hearty thanks for so wonderfully discovering and confounding the horrible and wicked designs of our Enemies, plotted and intended to have been executed against our most Gracious Sovereign Lord King George, and the whole estates of the realm, for the subversion of Government and established Religion. Be thou, O Lord, still our Mighty Protector, and scatter our Enemies that delight in blood; infatuate and defeat their Councils, abate their Pride, assuage their Malice, and confound their Devices. Strengthen the hands of our Gracious Sovereign, and all that are in authority under him, with judgment and justice, to suppress and punish all such workers of iniquity, as turn Religion into Rebellion, and Faith into Faction, that they may never prevail in the ruin of thy Church amongst us; but that our Gracious Sovereign, and his Realms being preserved in thy true Religion, and by thy merciful goodness, protected in the same, we may all duly serve thee with praise and thanksgiving. And we beseech thee to protect the King, Queen and Royal Family, from all Treasons and Conspiracies; preserve him in thy Faith, Fear, and Love; make his Reign long, prosperous and happy here on Earth, and crown him hereafter with everlasting Glory. Accept also, most Gracious God, our unfeigned Thanks, for filling our Hearts with joy and gladness, by sending thy Servant, the late King William, for the deliverance of these Nations from Tyranny and arbitrary Power.

Let

Let Truth and Justice, devotion and piety, concord and unity, brotherly kindness and charity, with other Christian Virtues, so flourish amongst us, that they may be the stability of our times, and make this our association a praise here on Earth. This we most humbly beg, in the name and for the sake of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour. *Amen.*

*Form of Prayer to be used at Clasing.*

O Almighty God, who art a strong Tower of Defence unto thy Servants, against the face of their Enemies; we yield thee praise and thanks for our deliverance from those great and apparent dangers wherewith we were encompassed; We acknowledge thy goodness, that we were not delivered over as a prey unto them, beseeching thee still to continue such thy mercies towards us, that all the world may know thou art our Saviour and mighty Deliverer, through Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

# A HISTORY OF IRELAND,

## CHAPTER I.

*Administration of MARQUIS CORNWALLIS.*

THIS period of the History of Ireland opens 1801. scenes, which let in broad day light upon those Legislative Union Mr. Pitt's master piece. principles of the system, which with some temporizing modifications, that country has been governed for centuries. The incorporate union was now accomplished, upon the success of which Mr. Pitt had vauntingly rested his reputation with posterity. The sequel will bring to a fair test, the justness of that Minister's assertion,\* that

\* Historical Review, 3 Vol. 838. This was Mr. Pitt's solemn opinion in the debate of the British House of Commons in January 1800 upon Mr. Sheridan's motion for addressing the crown, "not to listen to the counsel of those, who should advise or promote the measure of Legislative Union at that crisis, and under the then existing circumstances of the Empire." The severe experiment of 10 years has at length worked off the scales from the eyes of an easily blinded people. They now behold the hateful measure of union in its full deformity.

1801.

“ upon the accomplishment of that great work  
 “ depend the internal tranquillity of Ireland, the  
 “ general interest of the British Empire, and  
 “ perhaps, the happiness of a great part of the  
 “ habitable world.”

Union pro-  
 claimed in  
 Ireland.

The Ministerial victory was solemnly announced on the 1st day of January 1801 by a display at noon of the Imperial united standard on Bedford Tower in the Castle at Dublin, and by the firing of the guns of the Royal salute battery in Phoenix Park. In like manner was it proclaimed in every fort and garrison throughout Ireland, that the Legislative Union became on that day the *operative law* of the land. The event was dignified by an extraordinary promotion in the army and a\* numer-

They also practically feel the force of Mr. Sheridan's reproof of Mr. Under Secretary Cooke's official pamphlet in favor of the union, in which he derided and insulted the Irish nation by assuring them, that they had nothing to hope for from an Irish Parliament: and that however revolting to their first feelings might be the proposal of extinguishing their national Legislature and independence, yet that *disaffection would soon sink into acquiescence, and acquiescence soften into content.*

It is useful to reflect on past circumstances, which connect the theory and practice of the statesman. On the 31st of Jan. 1800 after Mr. Pitt had delivered a brilliant speech in favor of a complete and entire union, and submitted to the consideration of the House of Commons eight resolutions embracing a general plan of the measure, Mr. Sheridan moved: “ That no measure can have a tendency to improve and perpetuate the ties of amity and connection now existing between Great Britain and Ireland, which have not for their basis the manifest, free and free consent and approbation of the Parliament of the two countries: and that whoever shall endeavour to obtain the appearance of such consent, and



ous creation of Peers. Either Peerages had been 1801.

"either country by employing the influence of Government for the purpose of corruption or of intimidation, is an enemy to his Majesty and to the constitution." Mr. Pitt opposed the motion, by explicitly declaring, that "it went to stigmatize every minister, whose persuasions should procure the dismissal of officers of the crown on account of a difference of sentiment on any great political question. The practice arose out of the very nature of regular Government, and was necessary for the public service." In that same debate Lord Hawkesbury (now Earl of Liverpool) justified the dismissals; and roundly denied any intimidation or corruption: so did Mr. Canning; who was reproved by Mr. Sheridan "for pleading the cause of bold and barefaced corruption, and thus clouding and contaminating with its foul fog and baneful breath the pure morning of his political life."

It was not a little singular, that on this occasion amongst the army promotions, which could hardly be grounded on any merit in forwarding the union, appear the names of four Catholic officers of the Irish Brigade late in the service of France. (O'Moore, M'Donnell, M'Carty and Stack,) and they head the list of the Lieutenant Colonels, whom his Majesty was then pleased to appoint to be Colonels in the army. As the union peerages are become lasting badges of service rendered to the Pitt administration by the more prominent favourers of that measure, it is of national importance, that the recollection of them should be facilitated to posterity. New Baronies of Ireland were on the 27th of December 1800 granted to the following persons, viz: Lord Charles Fitzgerald, was created Baron Lecale; the Hon. William Waldgrave Baron Radstocke; the Right Honourable Sylvester Douglass Baron Glenbervie; the Right Honourable John Toler Baron Norbury; Sir Alan Gardner Baron Gardner; Marchioness Buckingham Baroness Nugent with remainder to her 2d son Lord G. Grenville and the heirs male of his body; Frederick French Esqr. Baron Ashtown, remainder to the heirs male of his late father; Eyre Massey, Esq. Baron Clarina; the Honourable Robert King Baron Erris. On the 29th of Dec. 1800 the following dignities

## *The Reign of George III.*

1801.

promised to Commoners or promotions to Peers, who had pledged themselves to support or not to oppose that measure. Individual engagements were generally observed to that effect with fidelity by the British Minister; national pledges only were disregarded.

Situation of  
the British  
Empire as  
to the Con-  
tinent.

According to Lord Castlereagh's report to Parliament, the military force in Ireland at this time amounted to 126,500 men; viz, 45,839 regulars; 27,104 Militia, and 53,557 Yeomanry. Notwithstanding the defensive and offensive means of warfare were proportionally great in other parts of the British Empire, the success of Mr. Pitt's military plans and operations had so generally failed during nine years contest with France, that he then had the mortification to behold the French

were granted with limitations to the heirs male of the Grantees, viz. The Earl of Inchiquin was created Marquis of Thomond; the Earl of Bective, Marquis of Headfort; the Earl of Altamont, Marquis of Sligo; the Earl of Ely, Marquis of Ely; Viscount Castle-Stewart Earl of Castle-Stewart; Viscount Donoughmore, Earl of Donoughmore; Viscount Caledon Earl of Caledon; Viscount Kenmare, Earl of Kenmare; Thomas Earl of Clanricard to be Earl of Clanricarde of the County of Galway, with remainder to his 1st and other daughter and daughters severally and respectively according to priority of birth and the heirs male of such daughter and daughters severally and respectively; Lord Glatworth, Earl of Limerick; Lord Somerton Archbishop of Cashel, Viscount Somerton; Lord Yelverton, Viscount Avonmore; Lord Longueville Viscount Longueville; Lord Bantry, Viscount Bantry; Lord Monck, Viscount Monck; Lord Kilconnel, Viscount Dunlo; Lord Tullamore, Viscount Charleville; Lord Kilwarden, Viscount Kilwarden.

power aggrandized beyond expectancy, and nearly the whole continent of Europe confederated against Great Britain, by having fallen under the influence, direction or subjection of Bonaparte by cession, treaty or by conquest. No Minister ever possessed greater influence over the country, used it more despotically and retained it longer, than Mr. Pitt. As the present situation of the Empire has been brought forward by a contumacious adherence to his system of measures, his servile followers have the plenitude of responsibility for its existing embarrassments. Ireland since her legislative union participates in common with Great Britain in all the general disasters of the Empire, and suffers her own peculiar miseries, which affect the rest of the King's dominions no otherwise, than by checking the powerful energies of above one third of the physical force of the whole.

1801.

Mr. Pitt was largely gifted by nature. He had been reared up and formed not so much to improve his native endowments for general purposes, as to fit them for command and rule. His greatest powers were unquestionably oratorical. His voice full and melodious: his language strong: his words nicely marshalled; his periods well formed: his perceptions always clear, frequently brilliant: sometimes sublime. Through the whole of his commanding eloquence he shewed, that he had been well taught: his very tones and gestures were imposing, and calculated for authority and office. He had the peculiar adroitness to infuse a conscious participation of his triumphs into the individuals, who

Character  
of Mr. Pitt.

1801:

composed his majorities in Parliament, which no minister ever kept in such blind and devoted subserviency. To his natural ambition, arrogance and reserve he added official hauteur and mystery. He displayed the impetuosity without possessing the vigor of youth. He improvidently projected and rashly undertook vast designs, which on the occurrence of difficulty he basely abandoned. He mischievously delighted in the chapter of accidents, which he ever prolonged beyond necessity; vainly boasting, that his measures were adapted to his favourite concurrence of *existing circumstances*. Hence his insatiable ambition was never checked, but by failure or discomfiture. Arrogant in success, he disdained to negotiate, where he ceased to dictate. He had much cunning and vanity. He would descend to procure information from the lowest, and not reject the suggestions of the highest, without acknowledging his obligation to either. To accomplish his party purposes he never scrupled to play with the constitution of his country. He had the address to bring before the public the calculations, plans and labours of others, as the genuine produce of his own powers; and thus acquired the credit, of a financier\* and statesman.

\* If the accumulation of the national debt argue the ability of the Financier, then indeed Mr. Pitt leaves his predecessors at an awful distance. When he began his solid system of Finance, the debt amounted to 232,000,000 and he retired from office after having encreased the pressure of it to the astonishing weight of 558,000,000. Thus in 17 year's administration he more than doubled the incumbrance by ninety-four millions.

## *The Administration of Marquis Cornwallis.*

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to which he was not entitled. He studied ~~not~~ to render himself amiable, but powerful: could not suffer the approach of an equal: considered sincerity beneath the dignity of a statesman: and wholly disregarded promises and pledges to those, whom he could either deceive or oppress. His enemies never charged him with parsimony or avarice. Heedless in his domestic osconomy, he gave unchecked confidence to the managers of the public purse, which was frequently abused. If as a public man he ever appeared accessible to friendship or sympathy, it was readily traced to extraordinary subserviency in the cabinet, or powerful support in the senate. His preference was not the congeniality of a friend or a philosopher: but the favor of a despot. His person was meagre tall and graceless: his manners generally cold, lofty and forbidding. His eyes keen and penetrating. His features and countenances altogether repelling.

Lord Clare had been the principal and most powerful tool of Mr. Pitt in all the measures, ~~remote~~ <sup>Lord Clare goes to England re-</sup> and <sup>land re-</sup> proximately conducive to the Union. <sup>penting the</sup> <sup>Union.</sup> For the purpose of effectuating that favourite object, Mr. Pitt found it requisite to invest him and some others with larger powers, than he either meant them to retain, or ever to commit to any other person in Ireland. Lord Clare had as much ambition, and consciousness of his own talents and consequence as Mr. Pitt. When he went to

Of his administration it was said, that it had added more to our burthens and taken more from our liberties, than any that ever existed.

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attend the first Imperial Parliament; the old seal of office was cancelled, and the new Union seal delivered to Lord Viscount Kilwarden, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Lord Viscount Avonmore, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, to be kept by them in commission during his absence. From the conduct of Lord Clare during the short space of time, that he survived the Union, it may be inferred, that he carried with him to England inflated ideas of his own meritorious consequence for having brought about that important event; not unreasonably expecting, that Mr. Pitt would have admitted him to some co-ordinate share in the Government of the now united kingdom. He quickly perceived, that by snapping at the shadow, he had lost the reality of that political power, which he had been so long permitted to enjoy: not indeed for his own, but for the purposes of the British Minister, in his views of degrading and emasculating the most prolific and warlike part of the British Empire. Mr. Pitt was too ambitious and crafty to bear the familiarity of a rival: Lord Clare too haughty to brook the disdainful treatment of an inferior. Perhaps the first act of that nobleman's political sincerity, was his cordial repentance of having consented to become Mr. Pitt's tool in carrying the Union.

Means of  
recom-  
mending  
the Union.

No means were omitted either in Ireland or in England, which were within the power of the supporters of the Union, to render it at first palatable. In London, Cumberland House in Pall Mall was taken and fitted up at a large expence

for the Union Club, into which it was the wish of the Unionists to admit all the nobility and gentry of Ireland, as well as such of the English as should chuse to give sanction and countenance to that measure\*. A grand gala was instantly announced to be in preparation, at which it was given out, that the Prince of Wales was to meet Lord Clare, and openly acknowledge his Royal Highness' sense of the high value he put upon his Lordship's exertions in bringing that desirable object to bear.

The 22d of January was the day, on which the Imperial Parliament first met, pursuant to the late prorogation. In developing the system of governing Ireland, it is not immaterial to observe, that Mr. Addington was proposed as the Speaker of the Imperial Parliament by Mr. Pelham, and seconded by Mr. Charles Yorke. The Parliament was opened by commission: but the King's Speech was not delivered till the 2d of February. Mr. Pitt is said to have tendered his resignation on the 11th of January, which was not then accepted by his Majesty, nor generally known to the public. In the mean time the enemy lost not sight of Ireland. The French papers boastingly announced, that three powerful armaments were preparing to

\* Novelty and fashion at first induced several persons to become members of that Club. It soon fell off, and the Club afterwards found it necessary to take a smaller house, and reduce their system of expence. The reduction however of the Club did not keep pace with the disappointment, repentance and disapprobation of the measure, which gave it rise.

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leave Brest. *Genthaume* was to command one fleet of nine sail of the line; *La Fouche* another of five; and a combined fleet of 15 French, and as many Spanish sail of the line with frigates and transports was destined for the invasion of Ireland under Admiral *Bruix*: and it was given out in the confidential papers of Government, that large bodies were on their march to Brest to be put on board. Government at the same time attempted to disguise some of the most flagrant illegality of their conduct under the appearance of conciliation and justice towards Ireland. They sent Mr. Basilico, a special messenger, to conduct Mr. Roger O'Connor, a State prisoner, from Fort George in the North of Scotland to London, where he was formally liberated upon bail\*, on

\* Viz. himself in 5000l. and Mr. George Smith and Hugh Bell in 2,500l. each. The recognizance was acknowledged before the Bow-street Magistrate, the late Sir Richard Ford. It bound Mr. R. O'Connor not to return without license to Ireland, but to remain in Middlesex, or wherever else in England it should please his Majesty to appoint during the war. It had long been a leading principle of the system, that the Irish should be shut out of the bulwarks of the British Constitution, and their personal liberty rendered dependant upon the suspicion of Privy Counsellors or Secretaries to the Lord Lieutenant. This anti-constitutional innovation necessarily introduced a new species of criminal process bottomed upon the floating humours and interests of the underlings of power. A detailed account therefore of the dealing with such suspected persons, to whom no influence can be brought home, is as requisite to illustrate this part of the system, as a report of a legal trial is to ascertain the Crown law of the land. The instruction to be acquired from each case formally shuts out every other consideration of the in-



the 24th day of January 1801. It was weakly

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dividual, than that, which brings him under the suspicion of Government in one case, or the arm of the law in the other.

Mr. R. O'Connor, though a younger brother, was in the spirit of the old Irish tannestry made the head of his family (or sept) by being put into possession of the family mansion and estate of Connorville, within 14 miles of Bantry Bay. He was a nephew of Lord Longueville, who as vehemently supported the system of coercion, as O'Connor deprecated and opposed it. In December 1796, O'Connor rendered signal services to that part of our army of above 5000 militia men, who were sent to Bantry to oppose the landing of the French. The merit of those services was greatly enhanced by the cheerfulness, with which they were performed by O'Connor and his tenants, and the lamentable distress to which the troops were then reduced. The billeting money, which was offered to O'Connor for having maintained the men, he generously distributed amongst them, in aid of their further wants. Kindness ever ensures the gratitude of the Irish people. In the following month of April, O'Connor's steward was taken into custody by Lord Bantry, on the information of one Cullinane, an approver, for having administered the oath of union, and was conveyed to Cork goal. The steward and Cullinane were twice examined on oath by Lord Bantry and the Rev. Mr. Selleto, and repeatedly swore, that O'Connor knew nothing of their being concerned in the Union. Whilst they were confined, every means of threat, promise, lure and punishment were successively resorted to, in order to extort from them something, that would implicate O'Connor. They could extract nothing even from the approver Cullinane. Notwithstanding a warrant signed by six Privy Counsellors issued to apprehend him, O'Connor having received information of their intent, quitted his house, and was at the distance of 12 miles, when the detachment of horse arrived at Connorville. They searched the house from the garret to the cellar for arms, but found none; they offered extravagant bribes to the servants, who refused to betray their master: they marched back disappointed. On the next day O'Connor, though he objected to

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imagined, that one solitary act of tardy and im-

give himself up to the military, through his Law Agent, offered to surrender himself to Judge Chamberlain, who was then holding the assizes at Cork, provided he would give him an assurance of being tried immediately for whatever should be alleged against him. On the Judge's expressing his inability to comply with that request, whilst the *habeas corpus* was suspended, he went to England. There he received on the 8th of June by the same packet the copy of a proclamation issued by Lord Camden on the 17th of May 1797, inviting every person to come in and surrender, and give security for the peace on an assurance of being no further questioned, and an account that 51 peasants from the neighbourhood of Connorville (though none of O'Connor's tenants) had been thrown into goal on the oaths of two hired informers. He returned to Ireland, mainly for the purpose of defending those persons, all of whom he knew to be loyal and faithful men, and surrendered himself at Mallow to Lord Kinsale and Sir James Cotter on the faith of the proclamation, and on the 18th of June informed Lord Camden and Mr. Secretary Pelham of his having complied with its terms. He returned not to Connorville till the 5th of July. He was soon after perfidiously invited to the camp near Bandon by Brigadier General Coote, and there arrested on the 14th of July, under a State warrant, dated on the 1st of July, but few days after he had sent his certificate to the Lord Lieutenant and his Secretary of having complied with the conditions of the proclamation of the 17th of May. General Coote having no further orders, knew not how to deal with his prisoner. He accompanied him to Bandon, where he was detained three days. On the 3d day of his detention there, O'Connor received a letter from Mr. Pelham dated on the very day, on which he had been arrested at the camp, desiring him to repair to Dublin immediately, as the Government was informed, he could throw much light on Irish affairs, that he might rest assured of his person being perfectly secure, and that he should be permitted immediately after to return home unmolested. As this letter from Mr. Pelham was written before his having been taken into custody, and was known in Dublin, General Coote found it necessary to

perfect justice would be received by the Irish peo- 1801.

for fresh commands to the castle, before he could dispose of his prisoner. He soon received an order to send O'Connor to Dublin, under charge of a military officer; and he arrived there on the 23d of July escorted by Captain Roche of the thirtieth regiment of Infantry. It here becomes requisite to observe, that the eldest brother, Mr. Robert Longfield O'Connor, who with the name possessed the full spirit of his uncle, was eminently active in forwarding the system. His former merit had been rewarded by a valuable civil appointment, and his further services were remunerated by a military command, both of which to this day he enjoys. On the morning of the 24th of July, O'Connor had a long conference with Mr. Pelham on the subject and tenor of his letters to Lord Camden and himself, which lay open and arranged on the Secretary's desk; upon the whole of which Mr. Pelham expressed himself satisfied with O'Connor's statements and explanations. They were then whole and perfect and spoke for themselves. No difficulties upon them arose in the mind of the Secretary, whilst the complete context explained the particular parts. But O'Connor grievously complained afterwards that Mr. Toler, (then Attorney General, now Lord Norbury) did on the 21st of February, 1799 maliciously garble and distort passages in them, in order to add venom to a most impassioned invective against him in the House of Commons, when he opposed a motion of Mr. O'Donnell, misrepresented in the government prints as a motion for the liberation of O'Connor out of custody; whereas it was a motion highly important to the personal liberty of the subject, for producing before the house the several warrants, upon which O'Connor had been arrested in England, thence transmitted to Ireland, remitted to England, and thence again transmitted to and imprisoned in Ireland. The motion was negatived. The warrants were never produced.

The next subject of conversation turned upon what is so incorrectly termed the examination of *Hebert*, a French prisoner at Dunmanway. It bore date the 1st of June 1797, was written on a loose scrap of paper, and was neither attested nor

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spirit and principles of division, acrimony, and

Union. He was however so vehemently urged to make this cautionary information in self-defence, and so solemnly assured, that it should never be used, but to defend him against the intended information of O'Connor, he at last began to hesitate: and on the faith of this loyal and zealous Magistrate, in order to keep up all proper appearances, he consented to take home with him a summons for the next day in his pocket, to ward off all suspicion of his being an hired informer: and promised in the mean time to think of the business. On the next day he attended the summons. The fabrication of this information took up the whole day, and it was not finished before Captain Roche's departure. Brigadier General Coote, who played a principal part in this mysterious drama, was privy to the manufacturing of the information by Mr. R. L. O'Connor, and sent a letter to Mr. Pelham by Captain Roche, stating the difficulty and length of the information, and promising, that it should be infallibly in Dublin on Monday the 24th by the post, which then arrived about two o'clock in the afternoon. It did arrive at that hour: but after all Mr. Pelham had on that very morning heard and said concerning the veracity, credibility, and feeling of Mr. Robert L. O'Connor, he could not on the first impulse annex any serious consequence to the operations of fraternal malice upon ignorance and iniquity. He not only did not send to O'Connor before three o'clock on the day he received the information, but on the next day he wrote to the Cork General to this effect. "My dear Sir, Captain Roche will report to you his arrival here with Mr. O'Connor. They will return to-morrow, but Mr. O'Connor is discharged from any arrest, and is out on the bail he entered into at Mallow." Brigadier General Coote on the day he received this letter from Mr. Pelham, instantly sent a copy of it to Mrs. O'Connor, presuming, that it would give her pleasure to hear of her husband's liberation. Captain Roche was not accompanied back to Cork by O'Connor, who had another interview with Mr. Pelham on the 26th of July, at which he told O'Connor of his having received a very serious information against him, not long after his leaving him on Monday, but added, we still pay to

consequent debilitation would be concealed from 1801.

*attention to it, as it comes from your brother.* The Secretary alluded to the fabricated information of Cullinane: the falsity, motives, and grounds of which appeared afterwards by the affidavit of Lieutenant Spear of the 8th or King's regiment of foot, who was a witness to the whole scene of Robert L. O'Connor's *influencing* and *intimidating* Cullinane into that forced and false information. Lieut. Spear swore, that whilst he was standing in a field near Mr. R. L. O'Connor's house, as Cullinane was advancing towards them, he thus accosted Lieutenant Spear: "Here comes one of the greatest rascals and villains existing. He is coming to swear informations against that villain my brother." Afterwards Cullinane in open Court confirmed the whole of Lieutenant Spear's evidence, and prayed forgiveness of his God and his country, for having yielded to the threats and promises of Mr. R. L. O'Connor, by swearing false testimony against his brother. On the 26th of July O'Connor left Dublin on his return home, where however he only staid one day, taking his wife and children to Kinsale for the benefit of the salt water. There Lord Kinsale shewed him a letter he had received from Lord Camden of the same purport, as Mr. Pelham's to General Coote. Here also O'Connor was apprized of farther circumstances relating to Hebert, which were afterwards sworn to by Mr. Dogherty, Hebert's wife's uncle, before the Mayor of Cork: a copy of the affidavit O'Connor sent to Lord Camden on the 18th of October 1797. A new and more wicked detail of falsities and slanders against O'Connor was presented to young Hebert to swear to, on pain of instant death. Threats proving unavailing, persuasion was resorted to. That succeeded no better. Corruption was then tried: and the Frenchman indignantly rejected the offer of 300*l.* in hand, and an annuity of 300*l.* for his life, and a free voyage to America, if he would swear to this new information, or even, if he would give the sanction of his oath to the original unattested paper of the 1st of June: the effect of which Mr. Pelham had so pointedly scouted on the 24th of July. Henceforth with reason O'Connor considered himself a free man: nothing hanging over him but the recogni-

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sight, and secured from reflection. It is ever dan-

zance of 1000l. entered into at Mallow for preserving the King's peace for seven years.

On the 10th of September O'Connor, who had been called to, but had never regularly practised at the Bar, appeared in Court at the Cork assizes, as advocate for the 51 peasants from the neighbourhood of Connorville, who had been lying in goal through the whole Summer. They were called not indifferently or innocently *O'Connor's Gang*: their fate was anticipated through the party: 17 were to be hanged, the remaining 34 were to be sent to condemned regiments. They were all acquitted: and O'Connor at the same assizes prosecuted the two hired witnesses, who swore against them, and convicted them of perjury. They were transported for seven years to Botany Bay. Foiled in their attempt to immolate so much innocent blood to the resistless sweep of perjured and purchased informers, the faction reverted to the foul, and lately scoffed at sources of information, which had appeared even too rank for Mr. Pelham's voracity for coercion. They requested, that *Hebert's* and *Cullinan's* informations might be sent down to Cork, that bills of indictment might be found upon them by the Grand Jury: for that, it would be impossible to make any examples in the county of Cork, whilst O'Connor was at large. On the 17th day of the assizes, after the regular Judges had quitted the country, and Mr. Serjeant *Chatterton* remained as assessor to hold the adjourned assizes and dismiss the Grand Jury, true bills were found against O'Connor, and a *capias* instantly issued, by virtue of which he was apprehended and confined in goal till the next assizes, which did not happen till seven months after.

By permission of Mr. Serjeant Chatterton, O'Connor attended the Court on the next day, where he submitted to the Judge the treachery of the proceedings against him: pleaded the faith of the proclamation, related his interviews with Mr. Pelham, urged his liberation with both these fabricated informations before him at the time the Secretary set him free, produced General Coote's letter to Mrs. O'Connor, and a copy of Mr. Pelham's to General Coote, pressed it upon the Court, that

gerous to play upon the good sense of the people. 1801.

*Hebert* had never been sworn, and called upon *Cullinane*, who was present in Court, to come forward at last, and yield to the force of truth. On this occasion it was, that Lieutenant *Spear* brought forward his affidavit, and *Cullinane* confirmed the whole, as has been related. The Court was paralyzed. The Judge paused. In his embarrassment he took a middle course between his judgment and his interest. He agreed to adjourn the assizes for 10 days, to give O'Connor an opportunity of applying to Mr. Pelham, who, he doubted not, would instantly direct his liberation, and, as he also added, to give himself an opportunity of receiving instructions from the Government, how he was to proceed. O'Connor conceiving it impossible, that Mr. Pelham should, as a man of common honesty, justice, or honor, have converted these well known fabrications into the engines of his murder and destruction, wrote by that day's post to the Secretary in the style of complaint against the Magistrates and Grand Jury, who, he assumed, were acting in direct contravention to the wishes and directions of Government. The spirit of the system had in the mean time gained upon the Castle, and Mr. Pelham instantly dispatched a peremptory command to Mr. Serjeant Chatterton not to open the Court pursuant to his adjournment. The consequence was, O'Connor remained dungeoned, without redress for seven months. To O'Connor himself Mr. Secretary wrote the following letter, which will appear singular in proportion as it is brought to bear upon the incredible combination of all the circumstances, which actually attended it.

*Dublin Castle, Oct. 4, 1797.*

" SIR,

" I have received your letter of the 28th ult. in reply to  
" which I have to observe, that you had neither my counte-  
" nance nor consent to attend the assizes. On the contrary, I  
" imagined you had gone to England long since. With the af-  
" fair of your arrest, Government has now nothing more to do,  
" bills having been found against you by the Grand Jury of  
" your country. If you have been indicted for administering

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The moment of their consciousness of deception is

"unlawful oaths, you will of course be discharged under the terms of the proclamation. Whether your conduct before or since the proclamation warrants the charges now brought against you, must be determined by those on the spot, who have the circumstances before them.

"I am, Sir, &c.

T. PELHAM."

During this period of O'Connor's confinement, the base and stale trick was repeatedly practised upon him of sending in by his servant letters treasonable in their nature or consequences: and it was so contrived, that very quickly after the delivery, a file of soldiers was introduced to search and seize his papers. He however had always the prudence, when any such letters were delivered to him, to seal them up and deliver them to the goaler, whereby he frustrated their malice. Having advertized a reward of 500*l.* to any one, who would discover the writer of those letters, he received an acknowledgment from the writer of them, (who declined mentioning names) that he had been employed to write them, in order, that they might be found in his possession, and to serve as evidence to take away his life. When he sent that letter of acknowledgment to a public printing-office in Cork, that it might be inspected by numbers, and thus lead to a speedier discovery of the writer, it was procured out of the hands of the printer, by forging the name of O'Connor; and having afterwards sent an account of the transaction to be published by that printer, the military garrison of Cork, with the Mayor at their head, without notice or warrant assailed his house, destroyed his frames and types, demolished the whole concern, seized and threw his person into goal. Thus precisely had the Northern Star been eclipsed by military tactic at Belfast in 1796.

At the Spring assizes for Cork, O'Connor was unavoidably brought to trial, upon the indictments found against him on the several informations (if such they could be called) of Hebert and Cullinane. Hebert was in the guard-house, under military escort, anxious, but not allowed to proclaim in open Court his



the birth of hostility to the deceiver. In nothing 1801.

utter inability to give in evidence any thing, which could tend to criminate O'Connor. Cullinane on the other hand was in Court, though strongly instigated by the prosecutors to return to his home, still solicitous to repeat once more in face of his country his disclaimer and recantation of the false testimony, which Mr. R. L. O'Connor had seduced him to give against his brother. In very few minutes O'Connor was acquitted: and the symptoms of exultation, which instantaneously manifested themselves to the public, filled the Court and neighbourhood with the most awful apprehensions. The Judge entreated O'Connor to go out of Court and appease the people. He prudently begged leave to remain under the protection of the Court, till the tumult should subside. Had he gone forth into the street, he would have exposed himself to the craft, malice, and irritation of his enemies; and perhaps fallen the first victim to the confusion, which they had predetermined to create: or he would on the other hand have been rendered responsible for the consequences of the riots, which the feelings of either party might have excited. Great was the provocation of the ascendancy party at O'Connor's acquittal: greater, that his triumph was enjoyed without violence or outrage.

On that very day however he set off for London, where he arrived on the fourth day, and having applied to the Duke of Portland for leave to be admitted to see his brother Arthur, then confined at Maidstone, he was arrested at five o'clock on the next morning by four King's Messengers, and sent back under custody to Dublin, where, after having narrowly escaped shipwreck, he had not rested three hours, ere he was remanded back to London. Before he set out on his return to England, he was assured by Mr. Cooke, that they did not pretend to have any charge against him; but they considered him dangerous from his popularity. Government now saw their error and repented, not having followed his (Mr. Cooke's) advice. He should not have been brought to trial at Cork, but kept confined under the act for suspending the *habeas corpus*. He was forced to travel above 1200 miles, and cross the Channel three times in 13 days without taking off his clothes for above seven hours. Upon the

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does a corrupt Government betray more weakness, than by selecting a man of integrity and firmness as an object of their suspicion, fear, or jealousy. The failure or detection of a single act of systematic profligacy or perjury bought for a hundred pounds, divests the Government of more confidence and strength, than can be repurchased by several millions.

Steps leading to Mr. Pitt's retiring from office.

After the fruitless efforts of nine years revolutionary warfare, Mr. Pitt could no longer disguise to his wounded pride the aggrandizement of his

acquittal of Mr. Arthur O'Connor of the charges, for which he was confined and tried at Maidstone, the two brothers were brought back in custody to Dublin, and confined in the same goal. There O'Connor most resolutely persisted in refusing to sign papers of arrangement between the Irish Government and the State prisoners, which, had he signed, would have been an acknowledgment of his guilt. He ever defied his enemies to prove any species of delinquency upon him. Threats and promises were importunately urged. Mr. A. Marsden, an Under Secretary, and a very busy Manager for the Castle, affected to apprise him through friendship of the resolution of Government to seize upon his estates, if he should still persist in his refusal. This was carried into effect. Three hundred horse took, and for several months kept possession of Connorville, drove out his wife and family, ransacked the house, and desolated the demesne to the damage of several thousands of pounds: for which to this hour he has never been indemnified in one shilling. He was at last forced at the point of the bayonet into a carriage, and sent to Fort George in Scotland, where, after an imprisonment of 22 months, he was brought up to London, and liberated upon bail, as has been mentioned.

Minuteness of detail has been necessary to develop this part of the system. But can or ought that system to stand, which for the accomplishment of its ends has recourse to the practice and encouragement of so much baseness and depravity?

enemy, in proportion to the exhaustion of his own resources. The British people tired out with the still unfulfilled predictions of the total ruin of the enemy, began to direct their longing eyes to the blessings of that peace and prosperity, in which he found the nation, when he was first entrusted with the reins of her Government. The sullen pride of that Minister would not descend to an avowal, that his plans had failed: and a besotted people even after such sore experience was bullied into a belief, that for the furthering of his projects one half of their property was necessarily to be immolated, for the preservation of the other. If any thing could bespeak the real consequence and importance of Ireland in her relations to the British Empire at large, it was the conduct of Mr. Pitt in making her his stepping stone for descending from his lofty station. In no part of his Majesty's dominions had he more prodigally indulged his lust for arbitrary rule, than in Ireland. From his entrance into office in 1784, he distinctly marked his disposition towards Ireland, by the successive rejection of the popular measures of Parliamentary Reform, the reduction of the army establishment, the retrenchment of the expenditures in the civil departments, the protecting duties, by discrediting and dissolving the volunteers; by forcing upon the City of Dublin the unpopular paving bill of Sir John (now Lord de Blaquiere) without hearing counsel at their bar or receiving the petition of the inhabitants at large against it; and by passing two other bills brought in by gentlemen highly obnox-

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ous to the people; viz. the bill for protecting the soldiery, by General Lutterell (now Earl of Carhampton) although the soldiers had been the aggressors in some inhuman atrocities at Island Bridge, and the bill for restraining the liberty of the press by Mr. Foster the speaker (now Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer.) Some newspapers had reflected upon that gentleman, and the House of Commons ordered their Serjeant at Arms to take the Publishers and Printers out of the custody of the civil power, and hand them over to the ruder and less responsible discipline of a military escort.\* The Irish people ill relished these beginnings of Mr. Pitt's Irish Ministers. Even the Irish House of Commons in the next year, steeped as it was in servility, made a stand against the ambitious dictator, and threw out his commercial propositions. An inexpressible offence, for which he never ceased to punish Ireland by every variety of national affliction, which insulted pride and baffled malice could devise. That inexorable enemy to Ireland

\* Vid: History of Ireland, by the Author, 2. Vol: 256. That outrageous conduct of the Irish House of Commons, when martial law had not been proclaimed in the country, happened, whilst Mr. Foster was their speaker. It was tamely submitted to by the Irish people, notwithstanding the outrage upon their rights and feelings were greater and more alarming, than the circumstance, which occasioned the issuing of Mr. Abbot's warrants to apprehend Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Gale Jones in the last Session of the Imperial Parliament. In Ireland too frequently and systematically did dragooning supersede the forms and tardy process of the law. This was not the only occasion, on which more forbearance was practised by a Dublin, than a London mob.

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was not satisfied with having exerted his utmost efforts to weaken and depress her, but he insulted her by drawing his apology for retiring from power from the very act of perfidy, by which he prevented that emancipation, by the prospect of which he duped her into the union. So barefaced was his duplicity throughout the whole negotiation of that fatal measure, that whilst he and his agents were tempting the Catholics to give it support, in order to obtain their total emancipation, they were seducing the Orangemen to exert their best energies to forward it, as the only effectual means of blasting the Catholics' hopes for ever. The Ministerial Agents even openly and from avowed authority assured the Orangemen, and the whole of the ascendancy party, that "*by the union the Catholic question would be for ever set at rest*: that its agitation would never again interrupt the public repose, and that for any sacrifices Ireland might make, the tranquillity founded on the extinction of the Catholic claims would be a liberal and competent reward."

It is singular, that out of the complicated variety of embarrassments, under which Mr. Pitt found himself compelled to retire from the helm, the only transaction, which furnished him with a plausible or popular ground for resignation, was the *Catholic question*, which that crafty Minister and his followers have so frequently used as a most powerful engine for the worst of political purposes. Within very few days after the meeting of Parliament, he made no secret of his resignation.

Further  
reasons of  
Mr. Pitt's  
Abdication.

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Great were the surprize and consternation, which attended the report. Few indeed gave credit to the alleged cause of the resignation : namely his inability to *carry* the Catholic question, which was imperiously necessary for the safety of the state. He was too fond of power, his influence in the country was too imposing, Ireland was too insignificant to have caused such an important change in all the departments of the state. Abstracting from the merits and justice of the question, and from the expediency or necessity of its being then propounded and carried, neither Mr. Pitt's friends nor opponents could bring their minds to believe, that an administration, which had established itself in spite of the House of Commons ; which had baffled and at last subdued a most formidable opposition ; which had maintained itself upon new courtly principles for 17 years, and still commanded a decided majority in the cabinet and senate, should have been thus broken up from the premier's inability to carry so simple and just a measure, as that of an equal participation of constitutional rights amongst all the King's subject.

Other  
causes of  
Mr. Pitt's  
resignation.

Besides those differences in the cabinet, to the account of which Mr. Pitt's friends most anxiously laid the abdication, it was generally believed, that some differences with the Duke of York, as commander in chief of his Majesty's forces, contained more of the real grounds for

1801.

that change in his Majesty's councils.\* These differences were said to turn upon three points. The first related to a diversity of opinion upon certain military arrangements and operations. The second arose out of a real or long suspected exercise of unconstitutional influence in a high quarter, which counteracted and embarrassed the important duties of his Majesty's official and responsible advisers. As these two heads affected Ireland in common with the rest of the British Empire, attention is more particularly pointed to the third, which touched Ireland in particular and operated only upon the rest of the Empire by indirect consequence. His Royal Highness had taken deep offence at Mr. Pitt's open declarations of the imperious necessity of emancipating the Catholics of Ireland: in which measure, should it ever take place, he and his adherents foresaw the sure extinction of the orange societies; and they universally looked up to the Duke of York as the peculiar patron of the *Protestant ascendancy* in Ireland, the support of which, each Orangeman individually swore constituted the condition and measure of his allegiance to the sovereign.† Upon this as upon some other occasions very unfaithful representa-

\* So notorious had these differences between the chief movers of the ostensible and secret cabinet become in the 2d week of January, that even the Government papers of that day spoke openly of their race on the Windsor Road immediately after their altercation, for the priority of telling the tale to his Majesty.

† Vid. their obligation in the introduction. Rules and regulations &c. p. II.

1801.

How Mr.  
Pitt used his  
power.

tions of those societies, and of the object of their institution were pressed upon the royal mind\*.

For 17 years, of the most awful period of human Governments, Mr. Pitt possessed more power, and used it more arbitrarily, than any Minister of a British Sovereign. He was supported in the strongest measures by the largest majorities ever known in Great Britain either in or out of Parliament. His policy and ambition had been eminently successful in weakening his opponents by division, and engrafting upon the fears, which he artfully excited in his dependents and his Sovereign, an infatuated conviction, that the maintaining of Whig principles constituted the worst of all crimes, Jacobinism, and the support of his measures became the exclusive test of loyalty and patriotism. Having thus discredited his political an-

\* From the year 1797 the Orange Societies were so tenderly cherished and zealously promoted by the Duke of York, that almost every regiment, even of Militia in Ireland, received from the office of the Commander in Chief, encouragement, authority, or orders for establishing Orange Lodges in their respective regiments. The person delegated for this mission was generally the Serjeant Major, or some other non-commissioned officer, signalized for his zeal against the Catholics. In some instances the institution of Orange Lodges under this high and official sanction has produced ferment and dissension, which compelled the commanding officer to investigate and punish both those, who gave rise to, and those, who perpetrated the consequent outrages. When often to the astonishment of the corps, and in defiance of military discipline and subordination, the conduct of the Serjeant has been justified by the production of the official document or warrant, most irregularly superseding that immediate authority, upon which alone the subordination and union of a regiment depend.



tagonists with the Sovereign, and the majority of an affrighted people, and setting at nought the powers of their now dwindled phalanx, he chose the embarrassing moment of public difficulty and dismay to resign the reins, when he wanted resolution to drive down the precipice, and had too much pride and too little experience to retrace the old or gain a new track. His craft impelled him to the subdolous expedient of making his stand upon the only principle\* of liberal policy, which he had ever publicly avowed, and this he did for the purpose of deception. He was fully aware, that if the question arising out of it, had ever proceeded to discussion, he would have been warmly supported in it by Mr. Fox and his adherents, and at the same time, not opposed by any of his own dependants, except such (and too many they were) as professedly renounced the right and duties of independent judgment.

1801.

No ordinary cause prevented his Majesty from attending the Imperial Parliament on the day of meeting. Whether the Speech from the Throne were on that awful occasion deferred on account of the indisposition of the Monarch, or the dis-

Meeting of  
Parliament.

\* Mr. Pitt was ensnared by some of his parliamentary supporters into a pledge to abolish the slave trade; a measure always supported by Mr. Fox. As Mr. Pitt's power and influence for 17 years enabled him to ride with ease over the parliamentary course on every Government question, it is evidence of his insincerity to his pledge, that no effectual step was taken during his life to forward that liberal object. It was effected by his colleague and successor Lord Grenville.

1801.

union of his Cabinet is uncertain. It was not however until the breaking up of the Council, which sat in the presence of his Majesty on the 30th of January at the Queen's House, that it was publicly reported, that Mr. Pitt had been outvoted in Council on the Catholic question: and consequently meant to give in his resignation, with the other Members of the Cabinet, who sided with him. Mr. Pitt's tender of his resignation on the 11th of January was still known to few. Had there been sincerity or authority in the offers and prospects holden out to the Catholics by Mr. Pitt, something would have been mentioned in the King's Speech to encourage or confirm their expectancies. The subject was not even glanced at. The Duke of Montrose in the Lords moved the address, which was seconded by the Earl of Lucan, to which Earl Fitzwilliam moved an amendment, importing a determination in the House to enquire into the conduct of Ministers. On the same day in the Commons the address was moved by Sir W. Williams Wynne, and seconded by Mr. Cornwallis; when Mr. Grey moved an amendment of a similar tendency with that of Lord Fitzwilliam. In the very outset of his speech, he made some pointed observations on the state of Ireland; which he did in reply to the mover and seconder of the address, who had warmly panegyricized the Union, lest his silence should be construed into a revocation of his opinions, which still continued, as they always had been determinately adverse to that measure. He ridiculed the boast, that the quiet

of Ireland would be the immediate effect of the Union, when it was notorious, that rebellion had been quelled before, and Ireland was perfectly quiet, when the Union was proposed. If any good effect could result from a measure so brought forward, and so supported, he hoped it would be the extension of the British Constitution to the Catholics of Ireland, and their restoration to all the rights of British subjects. This they had been taught to expect, and this was the least they were entitled to in return for that measure having been forced upon them by England. Mr. Pitt in replying to Mr. Grey, studiously avoided even remote reference to Ireland. He resorted to his old craft of anti-jacobinism, concluding his speech with a warm appeal to the majority of the House, whether all the public calamities of this, and all the other nations of the Continent were not occasioned by those principles, which the gentleman opposite to him had uniformly supported, and which he and the gentlemen on his side of the House had as uniformly combated\*.

The Duke of Portland, and such of Mr. Pitt's adherents, whose judgment and influence he considered too insignificant to add consequence, or give plausibility to his pretext for retiring from office on the Catholic question, affected to denounce the unconstitutional efforts of Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville in forcing the King's conscience, by placing him in a situation of violating his coronation oath,

\* Only 17 in the Lords, and 63 in the Commons, were for enquiring into the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers.

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by assenting to a bill for removing all civil disabilities affecting the Roman Catholics, and other dissenters from the establishment. By way of adding plausibility to their new born zeal for Church and State, they ineptly blended the question of repealing the Corporation and Test Acts, which affected the English Protestant Dissenters in common with the English Catholics, with the repeal of the remainder of the Popery code in both countries. In Ireland, notwithstanding the coronation oath, the Protestant Dissenters had been relieved from the sacramental test, and all other civil incapacities since the year 1782, whilst the Duke of Portland himself represented Majesty in that country, and must have as well understood the conscientious obligation of that oath, as he did when dropping into drivelling dotage at the distance of 19 years, from the period, at which he fully enjoyed the slender powers, with which Nature had gifted him. When Mr. Pitt and his selected confidants, who formed the strength of the Cabinet, sent in their resignations, they accompanied them with assurances, that they would continue to discharge the duties of their respective stations, until his Majesty should call to his Councils men, in whom he could place plenary confidence, and who had not the same feelings with themselves upon the question of Catholic Emancipation: in plainer words, who felt not the necessity of approving the measures, for the execution of which they were responsible. The motion, which stood for the 5th in the Commons, was by Mr. Pitt's desire put off under pretext of

an attack of the gout, and upon that day the dissolution of his administration may be said to have taken place.

1801.

The first public and authentic eclaireissement to this mysterious secession was given by Lord Grenville in the house of Peers, on the 11th of February, upon Lord Darnley's motion on the state of the nation. Lord Carlisle had risen to urge Lord Darnley not to bring forward the motion, for which the Lords had been summoned, in so alarming a situation of the country; which was greatly aggravated by the reported grounds of the minister's resignation. The agitation of the Catholic question, to which he alluded, should be religiously avoided; certain persons had, said "his Lordship, proposed to do that, which the boldest ministers shrunk from. The dreadful state of Ireland required the utmost caution, with respect to the administration of its affairs, lest circumstances should arise, that would render that, which their Lordships had seen with regard to that Country, nothing in comparison of what they might see." Upon this subject, Lord Grenville assured the house, that he was "impressed with the most lively feelings of personal duty to himself and to the house, to come forward and state some important circumstances relative to the situation, in which he then stood, and in which his imperious sense of duty to his Sovereign, his God, and his Country had placed him. He deprecated all premature discussions

Cause of  
Mr. Pitt's  
resignation  
alleged by  
Lord Gren-  
ville.

1801.

“ and allusions to questions of the utmost political importance and delicacy, as tending to encrease any dangerous circumstances, in which the country might be placed, and to which of course he and those, with whom he acted could not be supposed to contribute. His Lordship in conjunction with certain of his colleagues in the councils of his Majesty, some, who had seats in that, and others in the Commons House of Parliament, had felt it their duty to solicit the King's permission to retire from situations of trust and high public importance, which for some time they had had the honor of filling, upon grounds, which he was confident no honest man could deem censurable. It proceeded from a difference of opinion respecting advice offered by them for taking steps for the adoption of a great national measure, which they conceived would operate to the advantage of the people at large. In consequence of which they no longer continued to fill those situations they had for some time holden; and perceiving they could no longer do so with the hope of advantage to the country, they had requested the King to dispense with their further services. At that moment they considered themselves as holding their offices only, until their successors could be regularly appointed, whom they would cheerfully support, so long as by them the King's government should be administered *upon the same principles, on which they had themselves acted*; and in that view, he would seriously re-

" commend and advise their Lordships to continue  
" to give them their confidence and support, as  
" essentially necessary to the welfare, nay, the  
" salvation of the country."\* Lord Spencer ob-

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\* This declaration of Lord Grenville is taken from the fullest report of his speech on that occasion. A more concise report of it, which also appeared on the next morning to the same general effect in another of the London newspapers, confirms and adds light to the first report. " A noble Lord near him, (Earl Spencer) another noble Lord absent from illness, (Earl Chatham) some of his Majesty's ministers in the other house, and himself, had been reduced to the necessity of praying his Majesty graciously to permit them to retire from his Councils, and to resign the Offices they held in his government. They had proposed in his Majesty's Council a great and important measure relative to Ireland, which appeared to them to be of the most absolute necessity to his Majesty's interests, and to the peace and happiness of the United Countries: they were opposed, and found themselves incapable of bringing forward the measure to Parliament in the only way, which could be effectual, through the Executive Government: and as men acting on principles, from which they had never swerved, having in view solely the dignity of the Crown, and the prosperity of the Empire, they could no longer continue under such unfortunate circumstances to act in his Majesty's Councils. They therefore waited on the King, and humbly besought him to permit them to resign their respective offices; and his Majesty with expressions of regret, and marks of grace and favor, which his Lordship declared he should never forget, granted his permission; but laid his commands on them to fill their stations, till the other Members could be appointed. His Lordship concluded with declaring, the new Administration would continue to act on the same principles, by which he and his colleagues had been guided, and hoping they would therefore enjoy the confidence of their Lordships."

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served, that what Lord Grenville had advanced, faithfully described his own feelings and sentiments upon the occasion of the late secession.

Real views  
of the ene-  
mies to the  
Catholic  
question.

The several conversations and debates upon the policy of postponing Lord Darnley's\* motion

By this open declaration of Lord Grenville, it appears evident, that at that time, at least, the new Ministers, whatever were to be their measures, were considered identified in principle with the Seceders, and that under whatever name and responsibility the future measures of Government were to be executed, the Seceders formally pledged themselves to support them. Lord Moira spoke in reply. "In the year 1782 there was a change in administration: a *change of principles*. Now, he was sorry to find Ministers did not retire to make way for wiser men and wiser councils to repair the mischiefs of their administration: but according to the Noble Secretary's explicit declaration, the same measures were to be followed by the new Ministers. What then was done? In proportion as the situation of public affairs increased in difficulty and danger, talents were to be withdrawn from the cabinet, although the system, that had been the cause of all the evil was to remain entire, and that was the plain language of the Noble Lord. But without that language could the mystery be mistaken? what was left to make up that new administration, but all that was inefficient in the old one; according to the *ratio* of our distresses was to be the *ratio* of weakness and imbecility in the cabinet. He called their Lordships to turn their eyes to the state of things, to which the late administration had brought the country. He would then demand of them what was to be expected, when all that was the poorest in that administration, was the only part of it that remained ostensible and responsible."

\* Lord Holland having expressed, like Lord Moira, his opinions upon the fatality of following up the weak and wicked measures of the late administration by means of the most imbecile of its members, said, "When it was proposed to give complete emancipation to the Catholics, he was not surprised,



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on the state of the nation supply a volume of information upon the genuine views of the enemies to Catholic emancipation. Such as openly professed to oppose that measure upon principle, bore perhaps less implacable enmity to Ireland, than those, who made hollow professions of the necessity, after they had insidiously planned the sure abortion of the measure. The duplicity and delusion of the system drove them all to different expedients for keeping the question out of sight. The Seceders dreaded to be called upon to admit and detail the grounds of the imperious policy of that measure, without which they avowed their own incompetency to steer the vessel of state. The retainers or seekers of place, though they denied that policy, deprecated the discussion of a question, which would place before the public in opposite scales, the claims of about 5 millions to participate equally in the constitution, and the monopoly of its chief benefits in a system of exclusion and degradation.

On the 11th of February\* Mr. Lee the princi-

Election of a new speaker and Pitt's grounds for resigning.

" that it should be resisted by a certain set of men: he was not surprised, that the unfortunate faction, which had stirred up the American war and had deluged Ireland with blood; he was not surprised, that the men, who had prostituted themselves to that unfortunate faction, and been influenced by none but the most servile principles, should oppose any measure of liberal policy."

\* The notorious falsehoods, the incredible obloquy and barefaced misrepresentations contained in the speech of Lord Clare on the 10th of February 1801, are a faithful etching of some of the most prominent features of that desperate and boisterous poli-

1801.

pal Clerk of the House of Commons read to them

tician. " With respect to the subject of Catholic emancipation, " he requested, that Noble Lords would not then bring forward " a topic first introduced for the purpose of rebellion. He " requested them to give the union a fair trial, before they " should make any experiment, that might interfere with the " benefit to be expected from that measure. It was a question, " upon which the greatest diversity of opinion prevailed in " Ireland. He would solemnly assure that house, that of the " Catholics themselves 99 out of 100 did not care one jot for " Catholic emancipation. What they wanted and understood " by Catholic emancipation was, a partition of property, by " which every man should possess 10 acres of land and be " exempted from payment of tithes. Unfortunately there was " no country in Europe, in which so much diversity of opinion " prevailed as in Ireland. A Noble Lord (Cathart), who had " delivered his sentiments that night, had lived too long in it, " not to know perfectly well, that such was the case. Its inhabitants were of very combustible materials; and the house " should be aware of suffering any insinuations to escape, that " might throw a fire-brand amongst them, and excite a flame " only to be extinguished in the blood of intolerance." He deprecated all discussions of the question. This Noble Lord vehemently urged the perpetuation of Martial Law and other coercive measures in Ireland. This doctrine must have strongly recommended his Lordship to the new administration, which had been formed upon one, that had resigned upon a declared inability to carry a measure of conciliation, and a professed determination to support an opposite system. He gave a very lively account of a murder, that had happened 18 months before under his own roof, and referred to the perturbed state of the County of Wicklow, where Lord Fitzwilliam's property lay, during the rebellion, in order to induce their Lordships to keep the country under Martial Law. His speech on the 23d of March, (within a week of the new appointments having been published) flowed with malicious bitterness against his country. He assured their Lordships; that the common law was incompetent to keep down

a letter from Mr. Addington tendering his resignation of the office of speaker, which had been rendered incompatible with the new duty imposed upon him by his Sovereign. Mr. Pitt communicated his Majesty's pleasure, that the house should proceed to the election of a new speaker. Sir John Mitford, (now Lord Redesdale) was chosen on the next day. It was not till the 17th of the month, that Mr. Pitt took an opportunity of publicly professing his grounds for retiring. They ran in unison with those of Lord Grenville, and leave not a shade of ambiguity about the preconcerted system of raising\*

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the Irish, and that it was truly said. "That crown law made the solicitor fat, the Attorney General lean and melancholy, acquitted assassins and assassinated the witnesses." Then by way of inducing capitalists to settle in Ireland, he drew the following sketch of his country within three months after the union, "Every night, said he, that he retired to his chamber, he retired to an Armoury: every day, when he went out of his house, his servant as regularly handed him his pistols, as his hat. Noble Lords would then have some idea of the tranquillity of Ireland, at least no small impression of the necessity of continuing martial law there. If any Noble Lord doubted him, he wished him but the gratification of a solitary evening's ride there, and his doubts would very soon vanish. Or if any Noble Lord were desirous with more effect to gratify his knowledge and establish his conviction on these points, he should have a *villa gratis* from him as long, as he should like to try the experiments."

\* Mr. Pitt had in 1800 made a very elaborate speech in favour of union, in which he artfully laboured to prove, that it was the readiest and surest measure for producing Catholic emancipation. Ten thousand copies of it were distributed by Government to inculcate that idea.

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and in the same moment defeating Ireland's expectation of being emancipated. "I and some of my colleagues did recommend a measure, which under the circumstances of the union we thought of great importance to the completing of that measure, and the full attainment of all those advantages, which we expected to derive from it. We felt that conviction so strongly, that the measure appeared to us to be indispensable. But finding we could not propose it from Government?" we thought it inconsistent with our duty and our honor to continue in office."

\* Mr. Pitt in his speech against Mr. Grey's motion to go into the consideration of the state of the nation gave a much fuller explanation of the grounds of his resignation. He observed, that since resignation and mystery had in his regard been coupled together and the name of the King been brought into the question; and although he knew of no call upon him to give the reasons, why he resigned, yet by way of hypothetical illustration, he spoke a language intelligible to all. Supposing the opinion of the Sovereign to be one way, and that of his Minister the other, had not his Majesty a right to dismiss the "servant so differing from him from his councils." He enlarged much upon this topic. He took that opportunity of disclaiming the term *Catholic emancipation*: denying, that the Catholics had ever been in that situation, which justified the application of it to them. Mr. Fox in answer to that and some other parts of Mr. Pitt's speech, in which he had tauntingly charged him and his friends with jacobinism, thus spoke. "I say Sir I believe in the original rights of man; He who does not, is unworthy of the benefit of mankind. I think a Catholic man and a Protestant man ought alike to have the original right of man. Are all benefits to be abandoned, because the Right Honourable Gentleman has not the sanction of some persons? I respect the monarchy of the country: but the monarch has nothing to do with the

On the same day in the Lords an interesting conversation took place between Lord Holland and Lord Auckland. The former wishing to throw light upon the mysterious secession of all the efficient Ministers, had before noticed his intention of calling for copies or reports of the Communications passed between the Catholic Committee and the agents of Government; to which Lord Auckland urged insuperable objections. All those, who remained in, or who expected to become members of the new administration, systematically deprecated every recurrence to this sore and important subject; such also was the feeling of Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville\*. In as much as Mr. Pitt chose to commit the character and reputation of himself and such of his colleagues, in whose efficiency and talents he placed any confidence, to a question vital to Ireland, historical justice requires, as full a disclosure of every circumstance affecting it, as can be supported. Lord Holland's view in calling for the communications between Government and the Catholic Committee in Ireland tended principally to authenticate, what was then spoken of as the Minister's written pledge to the Catholics for granting their emancipation. It afterwards became more generally known, and a copy of it, was soon after produced in the House of Commons, of which Mr. Pitt thus spoke on another occa-

1801.

Ministerial  
tenderness  
to mention  
Catholic  
emancipa-  
tion.

" private opinions of any Member of Parliament. He is to choose his Ministers, and to give or refuse his assent to measures."

\* Viz, on 25th March on Mr. Grey's motion to take into consideration the state of the nation,

1801.

sion.\* “ The Honorable Gentleman had asked if  
 “ any assurances had been given to the Catholics,  
 “ and had read a paper said to have been published  
 “ by Lord Cornwallis. The substance of that  
 “ paper Mr. Pitt avowed, and that he wished it  
 “ to be known, as soon as possible to the Catholics  
 “ and to the country, and had therefore purposely  
 “ written to Lord Cornwallis. As to the particular  
 “ expressions in the paper he knew nothing of  
 “ them, having never seen it before it was pub-  
 “ lished. He denied, that any pledge had been  
 “ given to the Catholics, either by himself, Lord  
 “ Cornwallis or the Noble Lord near him (Castle-  
 “ reagh). The Catholics might very naturally  
 “ have conceived a hope, and he himself had  
 “ always thought, that in time that measure would  
 “ be a consequence of the union, because the diffi-  
 “ culties would be fewer than before.”

\* Although Lord Grenville tenderly avoided any discussion of the question of Catholic emancipation, yet he more frequently and more explicitly mentioned his opinion upon it, than Mr. Pitt. His words on the 20th of March in the debate upon the state of the nation were pointed. “ Without  
 “ that point (viz. Catholic emancipation) attained, he thought  
 “ the union would be a base lifeless measure: and not being  
 “ able to bring it forward in the way, which he conceived  
 “ essential to its success, he thought in common with his col-  
 “ leagues, that they should retire from situations, which they  
 “ could not fill in their own opinions to the advantage of their  
 “ country.” There cannot be a stronger argument for repealing the Act of Union, than that for the first ten years, the very life blood of that measure has been drawn off, and the body consequently paralyzed or inflamed. Such was the consistency, such the sincerity of the men, who in the same breath pledged their

Impenetrable was the obscurity, which hung about this transaction. It remained mysterious to all, who could not consider the causes assigned for resignation adequate to the effect. The pride of Mr. Pitt, the sympathies of some and the fears of others of his friends cautiously restrained them from touching upon the real causes of their abdication, *despondency and apprehension*. The written document speaks for itself. It was never contended, that the original paper was in the handwriting of Mr. Pitt. He is said to have dictated it to Lord Castlereagh. But Mr. Pitt's avowal of the substance and Lord Cornwallis's assertion, that he received it from Mr. Pitt, settle the substantial authenticity of its having been a written communication between Government and the Catholics of Ireland. Although Mr. Pitt, and Lord Grenville in Parliament and Mr. Dundas (now Lord Melville) perhaps more cautiously out of Parliament, proclaimed their inability to carry the Catholic question, as the true and only cause of their resignation, yet they were too experienced in political intrigue, not to resume the grand *coup de spectacle* for that theatre, on which the delusion was principally intended to be played off. Mr. Pitt and Lord Castlereagh committed to paper, and concerted with Lord Cornwallis, that he also should express in writing the pretended sentiments of the leading friends to the Catholic claims, in order,

1801.

Mr. Pitt's  
pledge to  
the Catho-  
lics.

own and called upon their Peers for their support of Ministers, who professed implacable hostility to the question of Catholic emancipation.

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that the Irish people should be induced by this insidious legacy to give credit to the Pitt Administration, for having sacrificed their places to their sincerity in the cause of the Catholics. Deception of some sort seems to have been intended by the suppression of dates and names, and the omission of all clerical formality in the transmission of the document. Many were at the time deceived: and some still refuse to admit, that such delusion has been practised upon them. Immediately after Mr. Pitt's resignation,\* his Excellency sent for Dr. Troy, the Catholic Arch-Bishop of Dublin, and Lord Fingall the first Catholic Nobleman of Ireland on the same day, though they attended him at separate times, and in the presence of Lieutenant Colonel Littlehales delivered to them the following written declaration; desiring

\* So confident was the party, that Lord Cornwallis had been the faithful tool of the British cabinet in carrying all its designs into effect in Ireland, and so steadily was that cabinet bent upon continuing the same system of proscription and division, that Lord Cornwallis was strongly and repeatedly urged to continue in his Government. His retirement however was the winding up of the piece; and the test of his sincerity in emancipating the Catholics, whom he left as he found them, and of his detestation of the Orangemen, who had incredibly increased in numbers strength and influence under his administration.

About this time namely 25th of February 1801 Lord Cornwallis appointed his confidential friend and favourite Colonel Edward Baker Littlehales, whom his Excellency had brought over with him to Ireland to be under secretary in the military department, in the room of William Elliott Esq. who had resigned that office. Mr. Elliott had been long trained to and was ever active in forwarding Mr. Pitt's system upon Ireland.



at the same time, that they should be discreetly communicated to the Bishops and principal Catholics, but not inserted in the newspapers. Within a short time after, they found their way into the English and Irish prints.

1801.

“ The leading part of his Majesty's Ministers finding unsurmountable obstacles to the bringing forward measures of concession to the Catholic body, whilst in office, have felt it impossible to continue in administration under the inability to propose it with the circumstances necessary to carrying the measure with all its advantages; and they have retired from his Majesty's service, considering this line of conduct, as most likely to contribute to its ultimate success. The Catholic body will, therefore, see how much their future hopes must depend upon strengthening their cause by good conduct in the mean time: they will prudently consider their prospects as arising from the persons, who now espouse their interests, and compare them with those, which they could look to from any other quarter: they may with confidence rely on the zealous support of all those, who retire, and of many, who remain in office, when it can be given with a prospect of success. They may be assured, that Mr. Pitt will do his utmost to establish their cause in the public favor, and prepare the way for their finally attaining their objects. And the Catholics will feel, that as Mr. Pitt could not concur in a hopeless attempt to force it now, he must at all times repress with the same decision, as if he held an adverse opinion, any unconstitutional conduct in the Catholic body.

Copy of Mr.  
Pitt's pledge  
to the Ca-  
tholics.

1801.

Under these circumstances it cannot be doubted, that the Catholics will take the most loyal, dutiful, and patient line of conduct ; that they will not suffer themselves to be led into measures, which can, by any construction, give a handle to the opposers of their wishes, either to misinterpret their principles, or to raise an argument for resisting their claims : but that by their prudent and exemplary demeanour they will afford additional grounds to the growing number of their advocaets to enforce their claims on proper occasions, until their objects can be finally and advantageously attained."

Such was Mr. Pitt's pledge or promise, which falls certainly within Lord Hollands meaning of a written communication between the agents of Government and the Catholic body. That of Lord Cornwallis was under the following title—viz.

Lord Corn-  
wallis do.

"The sentiments of a sincere friend to the Catholic claims. If the Catholics should now proceed to violence, or entertain any ideas of gaining their object by convulsive measures, or forming associations with men of Jacobinical principles, they must of course lose the support and aid of those, who have sacrificed their own situations in their cause ; but who would at the same time feel it to be their indispensable duty to oppose every thing tending to confusion. On the other hand should the Catholics be sensible of the benefit they possess, by having so many characters of eminence pledged not to embark in the service of Government, except on the terms of the Catholic

privileges being obtained, it is hoped, that on balancing the advantages and disadvantages of their situation, they would prefer a quiet and peaceable demeanour to any line of conduct of an opposite description.”•

1801.

\*The author has given these two important historical documents in his *Historical Review*, (3, Vol. p. 944.) They have been frequently referred to, commented upon, and variously interpreted in the Imperial Parliament. They speak for themselves, and it would exceed the function of the historian to attempt to put his construction upon them. It having however been given out and generally believed by Mr. Pitt's party, that they had been disowned by Mr. Pitt and Lord Cornwallis; and the Noble Marquis having been appointed to the general Government of India in 1805, which appointment would, as it was probably intended, deprive the public of the advantage of his Lordship's reasoning upon the important question, to which he boasted of having sacrificed his situation, the author determined to verify the fact by the best evidence the nature of the case would admit of; feeling it a duty to his own credit, and an important service to Ireland to place the matter out of doubt; he wrote a letter for that purpose to Lord Cornwallis, to which on the next day he received the following answer.

SIR,

*Burlington Street, April 7, 1805.*

I have received your letter of yesterday's date, and feel no difficulty in giving the most satisfactory answer to it in my power. I have neither a copy nor a distinct recollection of the words of the paper, which I gave to Dr. Troy, but this I perfectly well remember, that the paper was hastily given to him by me, to be circulated amongst his friends with the view of preventing any immediate disturbances, or other bad effects, that might be apprehended from the accounts, that had just arrived from England; and if I used the word *pledged*, I could only mean, that in my opinion, the Ministers, by resigning their offices, gave a pledge of their being friends to the measure of

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Further  
proof of Mr.  
Pitt's pledge

Under the failure of dates, documents must be received authority directly or indirectly from any member of administration, who resigned his office at that time, to give a pledge, that he would not embark again in the service of Government, except on the terms of the Catholic privileges being obtained

I have the honor to be—Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant.

CORNWALLIS.

It appeared unaccountable to the author, that an intimation of this importance to several millions of his Majesty's subjects, should have slipped the memory of a person even in the 70th year of his age, or that the representative of his Sovereign should not have retained a copy of so solemn a pledge or assurance to a whole nation, or that it should have been hastily or inconsiderately, or unadvisedly or unknowingly or imprudently given, or without authority, without consultation, without the privity, without the approbation or without the sanction of any of his colleagues or directors. It had been written and delivered by the viceroy himself in the presence of his first secretary to the first ecclesiastical and lay personages amongst the Catholics. Under these impressions the author wrote the following letter in reply to his Lordship.

“ MY LORD,

Having given you my history, and in my letter of the 6th instant pointed to the page of it, which contained that important paper, of which you have neither a copy nor a distinct recollection, I take the liberty of enclosing an exact copy of it from the manuscript of Dr. Troy in my possession, which led me to believe, that it had been neither hastily given nor insidiously intended to answer a temporary purpose, nor to meet the effects of a flying report.

I have the honour to be;

With all due respect

Your Lordship's obedient humble servant,

*Essex-St.* 8th April 1805.

FRANCIS PLOWDEN.

traced and arranged according to their general consequences and effects. Lord Cornwallis avowed, in his letter to the author, that *the paper* (which has been called the pledge to the Catholics) "was hastily given by him to Dr. Troy to be circulated amongst his friends with the view of preventing any immediate disturbances or other bad effects, that might be apprehended from the accounts, that had just arrived from England." The first public reports of a general change of administration in England reached Ireland in the first week of February: that is, as soon as the course of the post could bring from England the reported consequences of the council, which sat at the Queen's house on the 30th of January. Although it be alledged by Lord Cornwallis, that the paper was *hastily* given, it follows not, that it was *hastily*

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To this letter the author received the following conclusive admission of the genuine authenticity of the important documents published in the *Historical Review*.

SIR,

*Burlington-Street, April 8th 1805: -*

I have alluded in my former letter to a short paper, which I gave to Dr. Troy on the morning after the account of the resignation arrived. I have no copies of the papers, which you have now transmitted. *I do not however doubt their authority:* but of one circumstance I can speak with the most confident certainty viz. that I had on no occasion any authority for using the word *pledged*, but what I thought arose from the act of resignation.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant.

CORNWALLIS.

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prepared. The two papers ascribed respectively to Mr. Pitt and Lord Cornwallis bear a similarity of stile, and may naturally be supposed to have been the production of the same individual, whose insidious lubricity had been supereminently successful in duping the Irish into incorporate union and out of Catholic emancipation. Mr. Pitt gave unequivocal evidence in the House of Commons, that his paper was manufactured by Lord Castle-reagh: but to the sentiments it contained, when *properly interpreted*, he however subscribed: and long after the time of the delivery of both papers, this trusty scribe of deception continued the official Secretary of Lord Cornwallis: and that Noble Marquis in executing Mr. Pitt's projects upon Ireland, left the *proper interpretation* of every captious speech, hallow promise and insidious action to the deceptive powers of his employer. When Mr. Grey moved the House of Commons (on the 25th of March) to resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration the state of the nation, he very judiciously brought the situation of Ireland under their consideration, as a most important part of his subject. In referring to those written pledges he roundly charged them with having been given without sincerity and without authority. "If Catholic freedom were offered to the Irish as the price of their support of the union, if the faith of the Government were pledged on that occasion, it forms the highest species of criminality in Ministers, because I am confident, said he, if such

"were the case, it was so pledged without the  
"authority of the King: for I know his Majesty  
"is superior to the idea of swerving in the slightest  
"degree from the observance of his word. This  
"then was a crime of the highest denomination  
"in Ministers, and calls for enquiry. I ask, if  
"such promise were made, was Lord Clare and  
"the Protestant ascendancy party made ac-  
"quainted with it? If so, they were a party to  
"the delusion, that was intended to be practised on  
"the unhappy Catholic."

1801

Mr. Pitt, though no longer in office sat on the Ministerial side of the house, and in his reply to Mr. Grey, dwelt as slightly as possible on that part of his speech, which touched Ireland. The little however he did say, was pregnant with importance to the country. It seemed, that with the office, he had laid aside that craft and wariness, in which he usually enveloped his speeches in Parliament.—  
"Althrough," said the Ex-Minister, "the gentlemen opposite to me may agree with me in the necessity of Catholic Emancipation, yet I believe I shall not be entitled to their support, when I state the principles, on which I intended to have brought it forward. I hope, however, the time is not far distant, when in reward of the patience and resignation of the Catholics it may be carried into effect, so as to confirm the general tranquillity and security of the empire." He added also on the same occasion, that "he had no part in the wording of the paper. It was drawn up by Lord Castlereagh. To the senti-

Mr. Pitt's reserved meaning on the Catholic question.

1801.

“ments it contained, when *properly interpreted*,  
 “he however subscribed; further he would nei-  
 “ther avow nor explain.” Mr. Pitt’s few words  
 on this occasion admitted several important truths,  
 which it interests the Irish nation to circulate, and  
 perpetuate in justice and justification to themselves  
 and their posterity. It was an admission from an  
 enemy (and a greater Ireland never had), that in  
 the very hour, in which the British Government was  
 wresting from her the advantages of trial by jury  
 and the *habeas corpus*, in the moment of baffling  
 her expectations to be admitted to a general parti-  
 cipation of all the constitutional rights, her pa-  
 tience and resignation were exemplary, and ought  
 to be rewarded, and that her emancipation was  
 necessary for confirming the general tranquillity  
 and security of the empire.

Catholics as  
 they always  
 have been.

Such was the forced and reluctant admission of  
 Mr. Pitt concerning the Irish Catholics, such as he  
 had known them during seventeen years expe-  
 rience. But what were the principles, on which he  
 intended to bring forward that measure, to which  
 he anticipated such pointed resistance from the  
 opposite benches? Well was Mr. Pitt aware of  
 the broad and liberal policy of Mr. Fox and his  
 friends; he foresaw their indignant rejection of  
 any offer or proposal to the Irish Catholics, which  
 should break into their religious credence or prac-  
 tices, or tend to seduce or force them to become a  
 different society, from what they had hitherto  
 been. Mr. Pitt spoke with laconic reserve: but  
 never wished to meet the argument of religious



or even civil liberty on principle and merits. He sought to decoy the Catholic Hierarchy of Ireland into an alliance with the State; and as he had generally succeeded in his venal powers of seduction, he anticipated the sure ruin of the Catholics in the effect of their illicit connection. The direct proposal of ultimate guilt, never leads the premeditated attack on virtue. Even precipitancy is checked, where malice moves to conquest. It was not at that time publicly known, that in January 1799, a very artful proposal had been made by Government to the Roman Catholic Prelates of Ireland of an independent provision for the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland, under certain regulations, said not to be incompatible with their doctrine, discipline, or just principles. It was admitted by a large number of the prelates then convened in Dublin, that it ought to be thankfully accepted.

They went a step further and signed the following general resolution: "That in the appointment of the Prelates of the Roman Catholic Religion to vacant sees within the kingdom, such interference with Government as may enable it to be satisfied with the loyalty of the person appointed, is just and ought to be agreed to." And for the purpose of giving it effect, they further resolved, that after the usual canonical election the president should transmit the name of the elected to Government, which in one month after such transmission, should return the name of the elected, (if unobjectionable) that he might be confirmed by the Holy See. If he should be objected to by

1801.

Resolutions  
of the Prelates in  
1799.

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Government, the president on such communication, should after the month convene the electors, in order to chuse some other candidate. Mr. Pitt never lost sight of this insidious negociation, into which he had seduced a certain number of the unsuspecting prelates. This was the foundation stone of that deep laid plan of Mr. Pitt and his associates, to seduce or force the Irish Catholics into the same state of schism from the Church of Rome, as that, which took place in England in the reign of Henry VIII. This was the origin of that vital question of *Veto*, which has been so warmly discussed both in England and Ireland, and which in the order of chronology will be hereafter noticed.\*

\* Mr. Pitt in his speech upon the Catholic Question in the year 1805, (Deb. 127.) very fully explained himself upon this most important question, which neither in 1801 nor in 1805 was commonly seen through or thoroughly understood by the generality of his hearers. "It seemed expedient also to provide some guards against the evil influence, which the bigotry of priests might prompt them to exercise over the lower orders: and for that purpose I was desirous, that measures should be adopted to conciliate the priests themselves to Government, by making them in some degree dependent upon it, and thus rendering them links to connect the Government with the lower classes of society, instead of being the means of separation and agitation, who by infusing the prejudices, would divide the Catholic from the Protestant, and alienate him from his duty. That I conceive would be a wise and liberal system to pursue. My idea was to impose checks and guards, which whilst they secured against the danger of the innovation, would provide additional means for the defence of the country, ensure the respect due to the Protestant Clergy, and extend a *proper influence* to the Roman

The motives of Mr. Pitt and his colleagues for retiring from his Majesty's service, or as Lord Cornwallis more feelingly expressed himself, for *sacrificing their situations* at so critical a period, would be immaterial to the Irish people, were it not for the deception practised upon them. A demand of confidential gratitude was made upon the Irish Catholics to men, calling themselves friends to their cause, which from the year 1795 they had systematically opposed, against which they had in true Machiavelian policy fostered, arrayed, and permanently established the Orange Societies, and which they betrayed to their implacable enemies, in the moment, when called upon by private honor, public justice and national policy to redeem their pledge. The Irish have long been forbearing victims of oppression and persecution. It was reserved for Mr. Pitt to immolate them to that very *Protestant Ascendancy*, for which the Popery Code had been originally manufactured, but which he found too revolting for the opening liberality of the existing generation. The Christian indurance of unmerited persecution prevented not an intelligent and sagacious people from knowing, that the worst of enemies is the pretended friend. They beheld the British Minister retreating in despair of continuing the war with success, and without the

1801.

Who are the  
real friends  
of Ireland.

Catholic Communion." The consequences of rendering a body of between two and three thousand Roman Catholic Clergymen the creatures of an Anti Catholic Government, will be seen and felt most justly by those, who know most of the Roman Catholic Religion.

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ability or even the wish to make peace with credit or advantage. They lamented, that he had aggrandized France, but had subdued Ireland, by rivetting internal discord, driving her into rebellion, and thence into external union. That fatal triumph of political profligacy, from which even returning patriotism can hardly rally. Although Mr. Pitt had too long and too successfully practised upon the corrupt servility of his Irish dependants, he never lost sight of, nor forgave their successful stand in rejecting his commercial propositions in 1785, and inviting the Prince of Wales to accept of the unlimited regency in 1788. He well knew, that in Legislative Union only rested the impossibility of such recurrence. Having rivetted this indissoluble chain, with a view to arbitrary resumption, he relinquished power, and with recreant malice, proclaimed then for the first time, that on the Emancipation of Ireland the safety of the British empire depended. He and his colleagues resigned, pledging themselves to support their successors, (and they declined to accept of office without that support) in an administration avowedly formed on implacable hostility to that identical measure, which he scrupled not to declare essential to the safety of the empire.

Malicious  
cause as-  
signed for  
the altera-  
tion of his  
Majesty's  
health.

In the embarrassing circumstances of a general dissolution of the most powerful administration ever known in the country, under the menace of external power and the pressure of internal distress, the free, unbiassed and firm judgment of the executive was emphatically called into action. It

was wickedly given out to the public, that the pressure upon his Majesty's conscience, to violate his Coronation Oath by consenting to emancipate his Irish Catholic subjects, had brought on for some time back an alarming alteration in his Majesty's health. Those, whose object it was to lay these early symptoms of the disorder to the account of conscientious scruples in the Royal breast acted consistently with their own views, by raising the public sympathies into a concerted diffidence and horror of the Irish nation. Lord Castlereagh had for some time been preparing the materials for the fabrication of a report of a secret committee, to prove, (contrary to the fact) that rebellion still existed in Ireland, and therefore, that there was a necessity for renewing the Act for suspending the *habeas corpus*, which was about to expire on the 25th of March. Accordingly he had fixed the 20th of February for moving for a bill to enable the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to put Martial Law in force in such parts of Ireland as he should think proper: but as there was a call of the House on that day, to take into consideration the state of the nation, he postponed his motion till the call should have taken place.

On that same day, the attention of the House was exclusively devoted to Irish matter. Colonel Bagwell submitted to the consideration of the House (without offering any specific motion) the hardship of the Irish members paying both Irish and English taxes and duties, when they went over to attend Parliament in England. General Wal-

1801.

Several  
Irish mat-  
ters before  
Parliament.

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pole, after strong opposition from Lord Castlereagh and the Speaker, moved for a list of all persons holding offices and pensions in Ireland, who had seats in that House: and thereupon a committee was appointed to enquire, what offices, places, &c. under the Crown in Ireland were holden by members of that House, and to distinguish those holden during pleasure from those granted in reversion. And Mr. Secretary Dundas in pursuance of notice, moved for leave to bring in a bill for establishing a more equal proportion between the number of men and officers in the regiments of militia in Ireland; in order to put them exactly on the same footing with the English militia. The number of officers in the Irish regiments\* was too small in proportion to the number of men. Leave was given to bring in the bill for encreasing their number.

\* The paucity of Catholic officers in the Irish Militia regiments, in proportion to the number of Catholic individuals qualified to be appointed to commissions in those corps, is a subject of important reflection. Nor is it lightly suggested, that the more considerable part of the Protestant subalterns in the Militia regiments have received their appointments without legal qualifications. A Mr. John Giffard, who once was a captain in the Dublin City Militia has been noticed in the introduction, as eminently zealous for exterminating all the Catholics from Ireland, (p. 21, Int.) and for his achievements in the unfought scene of blood and devastation at Ballyholan. (p. 95, Int.) It is well known, that on the night of the 23d of May, 1798, the disaffection of the county of Kildare broke out into open civil war. On that same night the Limerick Mail Coach was stopped by the insurgents as it was entering Kildare, and the passengers were made prisoners. Amongst them was a younger son of Captain Giffard, a Lieute-

Besides the complicated variety of political em- 1801.

The king's  
illness, and  
public sor-  
city.

nant in the 82d infantry, a youth of 17 years of age, who was travelling to join his corps at Chatham. According to Sir Richard Musgrave's account of him (Memoirs of the Different Rebel-  
lions in Ireland, 3d edit. 1 vol 304) " he had a case of pistols  
" which his natural courage and the love of life (though hope-  
" less prompted him to use with effect. Being uncommonly  
" active, he burst from them, and vaulting over a six feet wall, he  
" made towards a house where he saw a light, and was killed in  
" the attempt to effect his escape." Shortly after Captain Giffard  
with his company with other troops entered the town of Kildare,  
and after they were ordered to evacuate it, against orders, he sig-  
nalized himself by setting fire to as many parts of the town as he  
could, in defiance of the entreaties, and in some instances of the  
resistance of the loyal inhabitants and King's troops. His plea  
for this military outrage was revenge for the blood of his son.

Allowing every scope for parental feelings on such a loss, yet  
it was a singular idea of this military hero, to select the resentful  
firing of undefended houses, as the prominent achievement of  
his military career, in which to hand down his fame and glory  
to posterity. As soon as he could quit the labours of the field,  
he directed an eminent artist to paint him at full length, in his  
uniform, gracefully leaning on his drawn sword, and smiling  
with ghastly exultation at the conflagration of Kildare, like Nero  
chuckling at the flames of Rome. This 20th day of February  
was the memorable day, on which the Imperial Senate voted the  
encrease of Irish Militia officers, and a Court Martial in Dublin  
published a sentence confirmed by the Lord Lieutenant, to de-  
prive that useful body of the services of this valiant, loyal and  
exemplary champion of the ascendancy.

BY THE LORD LIEUTENANT GENERAL AND GENERAL  
GOVERNOR OF IRELAND.

CORNWALLIS.

" Whereas at a General Court Martial held in the Barracks of  
Dublin on the 29th day of December, 1800, and continued by  
adjournment to the 9th day of January, 1801; of which Colonel  
Coote of the Royal Queen's County Militia, is President.

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barrassments, which really drove the Ministers from

The court being met and duly sworn, and the Judge Advocate being also sworn, proceeded to the trial of Captain John Giffard of the city of Dublin militia, brought prisoner before the court on the following charges, viz.

“ 1. For lifting up a weapon and offering violence against his commanding officer, and firing at him—For striking his commanding officer—For disobedience of the lawful commands of his commanding officers; all when in the execution of his duty.

“ 2. For disrespectful conduct towards his superior officers.

“ The court having taken into consideration the whole of the evidence adduced in support of the several charges preferred against the prisoner, Captain John Giffard of the city of Dublin regiment of militia; as also what was adduced by the prisoner in his defence—find, That the prisoner, Captain Giffard, is not guilty of the first charge, viz. “ lifting up a weapon, offering violence, and firing at his commanding officer,” and do therefore acquit him thereof.

But the court do find, that the prisoner is guilty of the 2d part of the first charge, viz. “ striking his commanding officer.”

The court do find, that the prisoner is not guilty of the 3d part of the first charge, viz. “ disobedience of the lawful commands of his commanding officer;” and do therefore acquit him thereof.

The court do find, that the prisoner, Captain Giffard, is guilty of the second charge, viz. “ disrespectful conduct towards his superior officers.

The court after the most mature consideration of the whole of the evidence, and viewing the conduct of Lieut. Col. Sankey and the several officers, who accompanied him on the night of the 17th of December last, as having degenerated into riot and confusion; and the court also considering the improper conduct of Lieut. Col. Sankey and the several officers, who accompanied him on the night of the 17th of December last, having degenerated into riot and confusion; and the court also, considering the improper conduct of Lieut. Col. Sankey in not making use of the officer of the guard, and the file of men brought up by him to suppress any riot, that existed; and



the helm, it pleased Divine Providence, that both 1801.

taking upon himself, in company with his officers,, in a tumultuous manner to take Captain Giffard into custody, which might without difficulty have been done on Lieut.-Colonel Sankey's first coming down to Mr. Sherwood's, are induced not to affix so high a degree of criminality to Captain Giffard, as to consider his acts as done in violation of his commanding officer Lieutenant Colonel Sankey, when in the execution of his duty. And also, considering his misconduct to Major Sankey, as influenced by passion arising from the ill treatment and abuse he received from the officers in the street immediately previous to Major Sankey's coming up, are induced to be so far lenient, as only to adjudge the prisoner, Captain Giffard, to be suspended from rank and pay for twelve months."

We, having taken the proceedings and sentences of the said general court-martial into consideration, are pleased to approve and confirm the same ; and do direct and require, that you will take the necessary measures for having the sentence pronounced by the court carried into execution, For doing whereof this shall be your warrant.

Given at his Majesty's Castle of Dublin this 20th day of February, 1801.

By his Excellency's command,

GASPER ERCK,

To Lieut.-Colonel Craig.

Sir,

*Dublin Castle, Feb. 20, 1801.*

I have it in command to enclose to you a warrant under his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's signature, ratifying the sentence and opinion of the general court martial, of which Colonel Coote of the Queen's County Regiment is President, held in the garrison of Dublin on the trial of Captain John Giffard, of the Dublin City Militia.

His Excellency desires you will convene the court, and in causing the warrant to be read to them, state, that although upon some points there has been a contrariety of evidence, in the

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islands should be severely afflicted with extraordinary scarcity ; and at the same time, that the health of the monarch should be so severely attacked, that the exercise of the executive functions actually was for a short time suspended. The disorder, which appeared to be a return of that, under which his Majesty had suffered in the year 1788, came on gradually, and had gained such a height before the acceptance of Mr. Pitt's resignation, that it was impossible to leave the country without an administration ; and a new one could not be formed until his Majesty's disorder should have taken the turn, which in some weeks it was given out by Government it had. Mr. Pitt and his colleagues though no longer substantially the Ministers of the country, continued under the distressful embarrassment to perform the official duties. The public mind was unusually agitated. It was at first the policy of the Court, to suppress the state of his Majesty's disorder from the knowledge of his anxious and afflicted subjects. The inveteracy of

two instances of gross misconduct, of which Captain Giffard has been found guilty ; yet it is apparent, from the whole tenor of the proceedings, that the tumultuous scene exhibited by the concurrent testimony of the several witnesses, betrays such a total want of discipline and ordinary demeanor amongst the officers of the corps, that his Excellency thinks it expedient, for the preservation of good order and military discipline, to lay their names severally before his Majesty, in order to receive his royal commands with respect to any further proceedings.

I have the honor to be, Sir.

Your most obedient humble servant

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

the complaint was consequently exaggerated in report, and the embarrassment of the State more alarmingly felt through every rank. In order to keep up the deceit upon the public, Lord Rosslyn, who still held the Great Seals, is generally understood on the 23d of February to have guided his Majesty's hand in affixing the Sign Manual to a commission for giving the Royal Assent to the repeal of the Brown Bread Bill, which the necessity of the times required to be immediately passed, but which from the stage of the disorder could not then have been voluntarily procured. Within very few days after that bold use of his Majesty's signature had been made, the symptoms of the disorder were represented as more favourable, in so much, that on the 27th of the month, Mr. Nicholls was dissuaded from moving the House of Commons according to his notice, to take the state of his Majesty's health into the consideration of the House.\*

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\* The actual state of the Monarch's health at this time was too alarming to be wholly suppressed from the public anxiety. The following guarded bulletin was therefore on the preceding day, left in an anteroom of the Queen's House to satisfy enquiries :—  
*The King has had a bad cold, has at present a little fever accompanied with a cough and hoarseness.*

T. GISBORNE,  
H. R. REYNOLDS.

22d February, 1801.

The report of the Physicians on that day was : *His Majesty's fever continues, but it does not increase.*

T. GISBORNE,  
H. R. REYNOLDS.

*Queen's House, February 27.*

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So unreservedly had Mr. Pitt devoted himself to the system, that he was equally ready to head, and to abett and support any measures, which could in his mind tend to continue and strengthen it against the attacks of its opponents; and they only consisted of the chosen few, who in adversity and prosperity steadfastly adhered to the constitutional principles and unassailable integrity of that enlightened statesman, Mr. Fox. The crisis was awfully distressing. Mr. Pitt had virtually retired: not driven from office by the growing influence of his opponents, or the adoption of a new system of measures, but for the accomplishment of his own views. The system, which was not intended to be abandoned, could not be perpetuated without patching up some peace with France, and defeating the expectations of deluded Ireland. For this a cabinet of expediency was to be formed of men of unqualified pliancy, devoid of political principle, incapable of system, and for the purpose of active and passive deception to be called the *King's Friends*. They were specially selected, instructed and commissioned by Mr. Pitt to perform what he was too proud and artful to take upon himself. Foreseeing, as he well did, the disastrous results of his plans, which could only be prevented by acting upon his opponents principles, he wickedly threw the odium and disgrace of measures, to which he had pledged *his constant, zealous and active support*, upon the shoulders of those, who would not scruple to shield them from enquiry and responsibility under the awful mantle of royalty. Whilst his Majesty's

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indisposition retained even a remote possibility of ending in a settled incapacity of performing the royal functions, every effort was exerted to keep the seals in the hands of Mr. Pitt. His successful manœuvring in 1788, either to prevent a regency, or smother the executive powers of the constitution under its restrictions, forcibly recurred to those, who had been tutored to dread nothing so much as the prevalence of those principles, upon which Mr. Pitt's political opponents had uniformly rested the safety and prosperity of the state. This understanding was too general not to bespeak the real reasons of Mr. Pitt's so long retaining the seals of office, after he had ceased to be the minister of the country.

Mr. Pitt's  
conduct on  
retiring.

The abdication of an ambitious minister, who had ruled the country for seventeen years without controul, in the moment of unprecedented embarrassments, astonished the public, and was inexplicable even to those, who claimed a share of his confidence. Whilst he continued to do parliamentary business, he was fastidiously guarded in all he uttered. He affected increased horrors of Jacobinism, and redoubled his charges of that uncourtly crime against his Whig opponents. With that wicked cry he had seduced his Sovereign and the greater part of his people to the verge of that precipice, from which he was unable to secure their retreat. Still was he arrogantly tenacious of his system, as if the state could be saved by no other arm than his. He importunately called upon the

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House to transfer their confidence to his successors, whom the King had appointed to follow up those fixed principles, upon which they had acted with steadiness for so many years under his direction. To the unmeasured depth of his own consequence he committed the fate of the empire, handing over the reins, in the moment his nerve and head failed him, to a person too weak to see the danger, and too vain to resist the temptation, under the secret pledge of the seceders' direction and support. In that rash step, Mr. Pitt looked to arbitrary resumption; to which he foresaw but one obstacle: and that was a possibility of the Sovereign's mind becoming sensible of the sound principles of his political rival. His chief solicitude was to keep Mr. Fox and his friends excluded from the Royal confidence, in the possession of which he foresaw his own death blow. As every secret movement in the enigmatical resignation cannot be precisely ascertained, the public must rest satisfied with this notorious fact, that Mr. Addington, the then Speaker of the House of Commons, a man of moderate talent, without pretension to the character of a statesman or politician, whom nature never formed for higher attainments than to learn and enforce the practice and regulation of a court or office, was delegated by Mr. Pitt to make some communications to his Majesty in the closet, from which he unexpectedly came out the minister of the country. That unaccountable appointment was all that, was certainly known to the public of the intended changes, when the progress of his

Majesty's disorder prevented the actual appointment of the rest of his servants.

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There was more difficulty, than had been at first apprehended, in cementing an administration of any probable duration out of the shreds and patches, which Mr. Pitt thought fit to leave behind him in office. He called upon none to resign, to whose judgment, talent or virtue the public paid any deference. Parliamentary business went on without interruption. Hitherto the pledged stipulations on resignation and acceptance of place, were faithfully acted up to. Neither party proposed, what the other would not support. Mr. Secretary Dundas moved, in pursuance of a former notice, for leave to bring in a bill for establishing a more equal proportion between the men and officers of the Irish militia, in order to put them in that regard on the same footing with the English militia. Lord Castlereagh postponed, till after the call of the house, his motion for a bill to enable the Lord Lieutenant to put martial law \* in force in such parts of the country, as he should think proper. On General Walpole's motion, a committee was appointed to

\* On the 12th of March, within a week of the new appointments being gazetted, Lord Castlereagh moved the House of Commons, that the act for the suppression of rebellion in Ireland should be then read; to which Mr. Sheridan objected, if it were to be done with a view to continue martial law in Ireland. He congratulated the nation upon the happy event of his Majesty's recovery, which had been on that day announced. After having heard his Majesty's commission for passing several public bills, it was a fair presumption, that some communication from the

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enquire what offices, places and pensions were holden under the Crown by members of that house distinguishing those holden at pleasure from those holden for life. And Mr. Bagwell drew the attention of the house to the hardships, which the Irish members suffered from paying not only the heavy duties and taxes imposed upon them in Ireland, but the still heavier weight of English taxes for their horses, carriages, servants, and the income tax. The bills touching Ireland were also put in progress during this suspended efficiency of the exe-

throne would be shortly made to the house on the subject, and without waiting for some message he thought it would be violating the respect due to his Majesty. He pressed the want of responsibility for advising so strong a measure between the out-going and in-coming ministers. He was called upon for confidence: he in return demanded proportionate responsibility. What was the bill the noble Lord desired the House to continue? After the promise, that the Union should heal all the discords and animosities that existed in the country; after the House had been congratulated from the throne, that not only the rebellion, but the hostile spirit, that occasioned it, had ceased, they were called upon to renew a bill for the continuing martial law in that country,—a bill, the whole of which stated it to be for the suppression of the rebellion, and for the better protection of his Majesty's person, and the preamble of which stated the existence of a dangerous conspiracy for the subversion of the government. Surely that was not then the case. When the original bill had been revived, which was proposed to be then continued, that revival was made at the very time, when both houses of parliament were congratulating the Lord Lieutenant upon the entire suppression of the rebellion. After a very long and heated debate, Lord Castlereagh's motion was agreed to. Of all the Irish members in the house, Sir Laurence Parsons alone opposed the continuation of martial law. Messrs. Gray and Whitbread spoke warmly against it, and Mr. Pitt and Lord Castlereagh for it.



cative cabinet. Such was the bill for continuing the *habeas corpus* in Ireland, the Irish duty bill, and the prohibiting the use of malt in the distilleries in Ireland. 1801:

The bill for regulating the office of the Master of the Rolls in Ireland, brought forward severe censure from the opposition, as a rank job for carrying the Union. Before the Union this office was a mere sinecure, holden at the pleasure of the Crown by two noble peers (Lords Glandore and Carysfort) with considerable salaries. These had been promised a large compensation for the loss of their places, in case the Union should be carried. Henceforward it was to be an efficient legal office, to be holden for life with a suitable salary, in order to give the Irish Chancellor an opportunity of attending his legislative duties in the House of Peers.\* It was warmly contended that, as the commissioners for the rolls were removeable at

\* On this occasion, Mr. Pitt said it was highly desirable, that the House of Lords should enjoy the benefit of that great luminary of the law, who had rendered such eminent services to his country. Mr. Grey replied, that much had been said that night in praise of the Irish Chancellor. He only knew his politics; and those he highly disapproved of. It had been already shewn that night, that the noble Lord vindicated the use of torture to extort confessions. Lord Clare, from his first arrival in England, put himself at the head of the opponents of the Catholic claims. Foreseeing, that the new administration was to consist of men assuming the arrogant appellation of the *King's friends*, he attempted, by decrying his own country in the Imperial Parliament, to secure, as one of the *King's friends*, an influence in the Councils of Great Britain; as he now perceived he had failed in attaining it, as Mr. Pitt's prime instrument in Ireland.

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pleasure from their sinecures, they were entitled to no compensation, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Prime Serjeant had been. Mr. Pitt and Lord Castlereagh justified the compensation; because it had been promised by the Irish parliament, and they were bounden in honor to make it good. In fact, none but the Catholic supporters of the Union had to complain of ministerial infidelity in the observance of previous stipulations or promises.

New arrangements.

For the insidious purposes of the system, the real state of the health of the Monarch was wickedly kept from the knowledge of his anxious subjects, and the new arrangements were finally settled on the 17th of March, on which day, Philip, Earl of Hardwicke was sworn of his Majesty's privy council, and appointed Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.\* All the new appointments in the English government were announced on the same day.† The several Irish

\* Mr. Charles Abbott was appointed to be the chief secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. He had dispositions as well as instructions to tread in the footsteps of his predecessors in office.

† Two of the new members had been inducted into office before the King's illness was known to have broken out, viz. Lord St. Vincent to the admiralty, and Lord Hawkesbury to the secretaryship of state for the foreign department. The late Lord Liverpool was generally considered to have been the prime projector of the new administration. Of which, besides the two already mentioned, the chief were, Mr. Addington, Chancellor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury. Lord Eldon, Lord Chancellor, Mr. Pelham, Secretary of State for the home department, Mr. Charles Yorke, Secretary at War, Mr. Law, (now Lord Ellenborough) and Mr. Spencer Perceval, Attorney and Solicitor General. The other Lords of the Treasury were

bills, that were in progress through the two Houses of Parliament, were managed and debated in the true spirit, in which they had been originally introduced. Lord Castlereagh,\* who had been Mr. 1801.

James Smyth, Esq. Charles Snell, Pybus, Esq. Lord George Thynne, and Nathaniel Bond, Esq. Lord Glenbervie and the Rt. Hon. Thomas Steele, Paymaster. Nicholas Vansittart, Esq. Secretary to the Treasury. It has providentially been recently proved upon the oath of the physician, who attended his Majesty in 1801, that the public was completely imposed on by those, who used the unfortunate illness of the monarch to cover their usurpation and use of the royal power and prerogative. Long had the system been charged with this invasion and abuse of Royalty, and the charge has been usually treated as sedition, treason or Jacobinism. It is notorious, that between the months of February and June 1801, many of the highest and most important acts of state were performed in the name of his Majesty. And from the examination of the King's physicians, laid before the House of Commons, on the 17th of December, 1810, it appears by the sworn testimony of Dr. Reynolds, that in 1801, after he had ceased to attend his Majesty, he went to Kew in March, where he understood that he relapsed, and was attended by Dr. Gisborne, and Drs. John and Robert Willis: and, as he was informed, was well only about the end of May. But Dr. Robert Willis positively swore, that the relapse took place, at the Queen's house, on the 14th or 15th of March, 1801, (two days before the grand appointment), and he continued to attend his Majesty till the 3d of June, during all which time, his flurries, which were vestiges of his disorder, occasionally appeared,

\* Lord Castlereagh, ever since his entrance into political life, has been successively the most obsequious tool of all work to every administration (except the Whigs, who knew and spurned his services.) As early as the year 1797, when Mr. Vandeleur moved the Irish House of Commons for an absentee tax, he thus drew his portrait in early youth. His Lordship has not yet outlived the likeness of the trait. Lord Castlereagh had taken a

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Pitt's accredited and most active agent in every measure for the Union, whether by duping the Ca-

very prominent part in the debate against that question, and presumptuously arraigned Mr. Vandeleur, who was also a young man, for bringing forward a motion of such vast importance to the nation. Mr. Vandeleur spiritedly replied, "That he must confess he did not possess the same advantages of political education with the noble Lord: he well knew, that the Castle was a hotbed, which opened the understanding and matured the judgment. It had so completely eradicated all prejudice from the mind of the Noble Lord, that he was unable to perceive whether he spoke the language of the minister or the deputy minister of the English cabinet, or that of the representative of a great, populous and independent country, which by great and manly exertions, had ushered him into that house on the shoulders of popularity." (Vid. Hist. Rev. 2 v. 598, and 17 Parl. Deb.) When Mr. Pelham, (the present Lord Chichester) in the spring of 1798, had sickened or been terrified at the storm the system had collected, and which he could not disperse and durst not meet, he retired to England, and was instantly succeeded by Lord Castlereagh, who had for some weeks supplied his absence, as an *amateur* and zealous advocate of coercion. This Noble Lord gave early proofs of the consciousness of his own versatility, and its powers in expedients to evade its consequences. Hearing, that by law his acceptance of office vacated his seat, he doubted whether after so recent an abandonment of his political principles, the electors of Down would again send him to Parliament, and was not without fears lest open discussion might fetter the *Proteus* in his shiftings. Accordingly, without any notice to his opponents, he procured a sufficient number of his friends to make a *Honour on Good Friday*, (a day on which Parliament never before sat,) and there, without debate, and behind the backs of his opponents, set the matter at rest, by negating a motion contrived to be made, that Lord Castlereagh had, by accepting the office of Chief Secretary of state, vacated his seat in the county of Down. (Hist. Rev. 2 v. 669.) From this moment, with the aid of a new

tholies or appeasing the Orangemen, by exchange of seats, punishing the opposers or rewarding the supporters of that measure, promptly enlisted a great majority under the banner of pledged opposition to Catholic concession. His Lordship was as prominently forward in passing the several bills for rivetting the shackles of his countrymen after the Union, as he had shewn himself anxious to buoy up their expectancies of emancipation before it. He well knew, however, that the refusal of that vital measure to Ireland, with the perpetuation of the rest of the system was the first plan of Mr. Pitt. The chain of legislative acts, by which the British government thought fit to cramp and fetter the liberties and welfare of Ireland during the first months after Union, throws such a body of light upon the complicated mystery of abdication, that Ireland at least can be no longer deceived, how much soever she may be doomed to suffer from it. It brought into action the sentiments and feelings of those, who had co-operated by goading the country into weakness by rebellion, and keeping her manacled by legislative Union. Lord Cornwallis, whose reports of the country for the last three years, during which he had governed it, would have been most important in producing a sound opinion in Parliament was, on military pretexts, kept back for several months after the ap-

convert, he avowed himself the admirer, improver and protector of the system, the patron, friend and associate of the Orangemen, and the devoted tool of universality to every minister, that inclined to debase and depress the Irish.

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pointment of his successor, from delivering his sentiments; and his successor, Lord Hardwicke, was prevented from making any reports upon the actual state of the country, which he was appointed to govern, by not being permitted to assume the government, till the views of the British cabinet had been realized by the passing of the several bills then pending.

First martial law bill.

Early in the session the bill for continuing martial law in Ireland for three months had passed into a law, which would expire on the 24th of June. It had been opposed on principle by some of the whig party, because no parliamentary information was laid before the house, which went to justify the necessity for so harsh a measure. Less opposition was avowedly raised against it, on account of the brevity of its duration, and the general confidence, that the extraordinary power would not be abused by Lord Cornwallis, who it was indirectly suggested, would retain his situation up to the period of its expiration.\* After the final settlement of the new ministerial arrangements the real views and motives of Mr. Pitt and the other seceders became more generally understood: and the new restraints put upon Ireland were represented by the Ascendancy party, as insufficient to weaken and divert the Irish from urging their claims in the Imperial Parliament. Lord Castlereagh had repeatedly boasted in Parlia-

\* This was expressly admitted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons, on the 1st. of April, 1801.

ment; that the extent of Mr. Pitt's pledge or promise to the Catholics, was an assurance, that after the Union, the facility of Government's either granting or refusing emancipation would be greater than before, and he followed up the principle, by attempting to magnify the unworthiness of Ireland in the eyes of the British nation, by continuing the coercive measures, which were about then to expire.

Within a short time after the passing of the first martial law bill for three months, viz. on the 1st of April,\* the Chancellor of the Exchequer by

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King's message for a second martial law bill.

\* The obvious ground of proving the evil, which Parliament had to prevent or cure in Ireland, was to lay before it an official report of the government of that country for the three last important years, during which rebellion was put down, and the Union raised out of its ashes. In lieu of this, within a fortnight after Lord Cornwallis's successor had been appointed, an investigation was set on foot, and a coercive system was renovated and prolonged. Without application to Lord Cornwallis, who alone could vouch for the necessity, and at a moment when, by the appointment of his successor, his advice would have been considered irregular and obtrusive. Lord Castlereagh indeed asserted, in the House of Commons, on the 12th of March, when he moved to continue martial law in Ireland, "that he was authorized to say, that the illustrious representative of his Majesty in Ireland considered the renewal of that act highly expedient, and few would question his penetration, wisdom, humanity and love of the constitution." As Lord Castlereagh pressed upon the House the approbation of Lord Cornwallis on the strength of his own assertion, the reader will bear in mind the degree of veracity it was entitled to, when he reflects, that on the 18th of March, in that same House, Lord Castlereagh alleged, in all the pomp of official solemnity, *that no torture had been used in Ireland under the authority, or with the approbation*

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command of his Majesty, laid before the House of Commons copies and extracts of papers, containing secret information received by his Majesty's government, relative to the state of Ireland, and proceedings of certain disaffected persons in both parts of the United Kingdom, which upon his motion were referred to a committee. This was a preconcerted plan for representing Ireland, and collaterally the whole United Kingdom, as over-run with the spirit of Jacobinism. On no occasion was Mr. Pitt more vehement in his declamation against Jacobinism, apparently with a view of drawing off the public attention from the real authors of the national disasters, by directing its indignation against the Jacobins, whose cause they essentially tended to strengthen. "It was," said he, "the inherent spirit of Jacobinism to ally itself with every disaster, to press into its service every evil of the state, to wed itself to every misfortune of the country it inhabits, and to make them forerunners of its ruin."

**Fabrication  
of new con-  
spiracies.**

Mr. Addington and Lord Hawkesbury, as well as Mr. Pitt, and their most prominent supporters, found it necessary at this juncture to set afloat a new and most alarming conspiracy against the constitution, in order to justify the resumption of

*of government.* A falsehood so notoriously flagrant, that even Mr. John Claudius Beresford blushed to back it. "He admitted such severities to have been really exercised in many cases; that punishments had been inflicted for the purpose of extorting confessions from those, who were suspected of having concealed arms, he would not, and it would be unmanly in him to deny." P. Reg. 439.



coercive measures in Ireland, and lay a foundation for procuring an indemnity bill in England. This Mr. Pitt had constantly declared he should never resort to, when his opponents in Parliament upbraided him with a direct intent of covering the harsh measures of his government with that state plaister. The slight mention of disaffection in England, which Lord Hawkesbury admitted, had shewn itself only within a week or two, (Mr. Pitt had commended the people's exemplary loyalty and forbearance during the last year of calamity) drew from the opposition an obvious remark, that so alarming a circumstance should have been the subject of a distinct message from the throne, and ought not to have been tacked like an insignificant rider to that, which concerned Ireland. It was hoped, that the committee would be fair and open. It was however resolved, that it should be secret, consisting of twenty-one members, to be chosen by written lists. It was, of course, selected by the minister's majority.

The report of the secret committee carried upon the face of it the most studied efforts to ensure a temporary purpose. It was the echo of Mr. Pitt's invective against Jacobinism: still practising his favourite tactic by raising alarm, when a strong measure was to be carried. In this instance, two objects were to be attained. The British ministers, who had seceded, were to be indemnified: the population of Ireland, which had been duped, was to be degraded, weakened, and permanently depressed. Mr. Pitt affected indif-

1801.

Report of  
the secret  
committee.

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ference to the British, but great anxiety for the Irish object. The Committee, on the other hand, manifested a studied anxiety to ensure the British, confident that the slightest notice would command the Irish object. The report was a voluminous farrago of declamation, conjecture, assertion, suspicion and strained deduction: it had more the appearance of a prepared philippic than a detail of facts newly disclosed, and supported by evidence. The principal part of it bore upon England, and was directly calculated to give colour to the indemnity bill. It represented the people of England, at the same time seditious and clamorous to put an end to the war, as the only means of restoring plenty and commerce to its usual channels, and to prolong it as the best ground to expect assistance from France to carry into effect their seditious purposes. It detailed songs, toasts and proceedings of some low, fanatical and lewd persons, who expressed their soreness and sufferings without any fixed principle, defined object, or regularity of system. It reported the formation of new societies of Millenarians, New Jerusalemites, Spensonians, and other fanatics, whom it traced from London into Yorkshire, Lancashire, Nottingham, Scotland, and other neighbouring places: but they extended them not to Ireland. Yet Ireland was not to be wholly omitted, where the report was incidentally, at least, calculated to justify the coercive measures intended for that part of the United

Kingdom. Assuming, that, "these men wished  
"for no converts, but those, who from, some  
"motive or other, were ready to attempt by force  
"the direct subversion of the government and  
"constitution of the country," the Committee  
engrafted upon their own surmises of the work-  
ings of these fanatics, *that they borrowed their  
ideas from the Irish rebellion.* "They saw in  
"Ireland the example of such a rebellion as  
"they wished to promote here." They farther  
produced a printed address, signed *Hybernicus*,  
directed to Britons and Fellow Citizens. The  
committee said, "they had thus detailed the pro-  
"ceedings of the disaffected, carried on in the  
"metropolis, and as directed principally to its  
"disturbance, but they would afford a very ina-  
"dequate representation of the extent of the  
"confederacy, yet in proceeding to advert to the  
"state of the other parts of the country, and  
"even of Ireland,\* they omitted to notice the  
"concert which in some measure pervaded the  
"whole." In other parts of the report, they  
lay stress upon the exaggerated statement of these  
men; of the number of the confederates, all train-  
ed to military exercise, which, including Ireland,  
amounted to 150,000. They added, that the  
principal of these emissaries were represented as

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\* On this subject, Mr. Sheridan said, not ineptly, in debating  
the indemnity bill on the 11th of June: "As to Ireland, Jacobin-  
ism had no more to do with its rebellion than a change in the  
Gentoo laws. It sprung from religious persecution, and the  
wounded and degraded spirit of the majority of its people."

1801.

delegated from London, York, Birmingham, Bristol, Sheffield, and other considerable towns, as well as from Ireland. They further reported, that some of the United Irishmen, who had fled from justice, and had resorted to London, seemed to have resumed their former designs, had shewn a pike to some of the meetings, had boasted of an order given for their fabrication, and some of them had offered to teach the use of that revolutionary weapon. The Committee then more specially directed their attention to the situation of Ireland, in her internal and external relations, as to the necessity of the measures formerly adopted for the suppression of rebellion, which they admitted no longer existed: though at no time were there wanting demonstrations of the same systematic plan of insurrection, marked with the same characters of unexampled atrocity. That a year before, a new system of association was about to be established in Ireland, but it never took effect. That it appeared to have been lately holden out to the disaffected in Ireland, that whenever a general insurrection should break out in that country, a simultaneous explosion should take place in London, and the several principal towns of Great Britain. That it might be imagined, that the cause would never appear desperate to those engaged in it, whilst the continuance of the war still kept alive the hope of French assistance. That some Irishmen had established a central committee of rebellion at Paris, and some other emissaries were supposed to be then concealed in

Ireland, that the views and means of attaining them were manifested in an address to the Irish sailors printed on the continent. That one person had gone to France and opened a direct communication with the enemy, accrediting himself with him as representing the landed interest of his countrymen, who like himself were so dissatisfied with the Union, that they would engage in any concert with France to procure the means under the guarantee of that power of establishing some new form of representative Government; stipulating however for the assurance of property, in opposition to the claims of the Catholics, who still looked to the establishment of a popish ascendancy; and that the system of terror originally adopted by the leaders of the united Irish, who first recommended assassination, and then formed committees for the purpose of concerting and directing it, had been continued up to that hour, sometimes with the same enormities, at others with the less fatal, though scarcely less cruel excesses of inhuman beatings and floggings.

Such was the the tendency of this hard laboured report of a packed committee, which did not ascertain one insolated fact involving Ireland in any guilt to justify the renovation of coercive measures in that country. It answered the end of its authors, which was to ensure a majority of votes in Parliament for the two distinct measures to be engrafted upon it.

1801.

Tendency  
of the re-  
port of the  
Committee

1801.

On the 14th of April \* Mr. Pelham in the house of commons moved the order of the day for considering the report of the secret committee for inquiring into the state of Ireland, and the conduct of persons in England tending to treason and sedition, and immediately moved for leave to bring in a bill to continue the act for suspending the *habeas corpus*.† On the 17th of April Lord Loughborough

\* When Mr. Sheridan objected on the 12th of March to Lord Castlereagh's motion for reviving Martial Law in Ireland, because no communication had been made from the throne, Lord Castlereagh answered not without some spirit, but with total inattention to the general applicability of his doctrine to other questions, "Ought we, said his Lordship, to be so dependent upon the crown, as to fear the adoption of wise and prudent measures, without a particular communication from his Majesty? This would reduce us to the level of the French legislature, where the originating of every law depends upon the will of the executive." The application of this doctrine to the question of Catholic Emancipation could not be very consistently made by Lord Castlereagh or any of his Colleagues. The reader will keep in mind the unfortunate state of the Monarch's health during all these debates.

† Amongst the few, (34 against 156) who opposed the bills being then read a second time, Sir Francis Burdett stood forward in favor of Ireland. "He saw no difference between the late and the present administration. He had watched their blood-tracked steps in Ireland. He had witnessed their wicked edicts, all tending to destroy the remnant of the constitution. He wished the house to pause, and reflect on what coercion had done in Ireland. At the end of the American war, so little tendency to revolt appeared, that 9000 out of

in the Lords moved for the second reading of the same bill, which produced a warm debate, in which Lords Moira and Holland opposed it, as no grounds

1801.

“ 12000 troops were sent from Ireland to America. The probability of invasion was as strong then, as whilst he was speaking : yet 60000 volunteers self-clothed and self-paid rose up against the threatened invasion. But whilst she warded off a foreign invasion, Ireland presented a schedule of her claims founded on a participation of equal rights. But since then she had sent delegates to France to invite an invasion. What could have affected such a change in the Irish ? No less than the acts of the Irish Parliament, supported by the wicked policy of the ministers here. The late Minister of England had spoken of the Irish Parliament in terms like his own, when he wished to extinguish it in the Union. It was said, this change was the consequence of Jacobinism : a term now applied to all, who asserted the liberties of Englishmen, performed their duty in that house, and kept an eye on the encroachments of ministers and the crown. This was the Jacobinism of our old constitution, insufferable to ministers, who knew there was no choice between the country's slavery and their own punishment. He had told them, that it would not be easy to make brave English soldiers torturers and executioners. They should remember, that acts, such as those he complained of had ruined the whole family of Stuart, and were not the less oppressive, because they came from those, whose duty it was to protect the people.” The Solicitor General, Mr. Percival, spoke warmly for the bill, as did Mr. Martin of Galway. Mr. (now Lord) Grey strenuously opposed the bill's being passed in such haste ; he particularly deprecated the mode of choosing a Committee by ballot, as lists were frequently handed out from the treasury, which had their effect upon members, and caused the formation of Committees prepossessed on one side of the question to be inquired into. Mr. Sheridan

1801.

appeared to justify it. It went through all its stages on that night. Lord Grenville said, that he never gave a vote with more satisfaction, and more consonant with the conscientious discharge of his duty, than on that occasion.

Bills for  
suspending  
Habeas  
Corpus and  
continuing  
martial law  
in Ireland.

When Lord Hobart as Secretary of State for Ireland introduced to the Lords the bill for continuing Martial Law in Ireland, he observed, that he had not attempted to use any arguments to prove the necessity for passing the bill, because, "the report on the face of it proved the necessity, and he thought their Lordships would be more impressed with the arguments contained in the

spoke strongly against the bill. It was candid, he said to confess, but deplorable to hear, that the present administration were determined to model their conduct by that of their predecessors. He augured from this the country's ruin. In answer to the Solicitor General, he observed, that it was monstrous to say, when three fourths of the people were in a state, in which a man's best industry could not keep his family from starving, and were obliged to ask alms to save themselves from perishing, that all their discontent arose from the artifices of designing men, to whose account the Solicitor General had laid the discontents in Ireland. The Attorney General (the present Lord Ellenborough) fully sensible of the value of the *Habeas Corpus* admitted the measure to be a vigorous one, though under existing circumstances indispensably necessary, and in fact an act of lenity and mercy, and as an honest man he heartily voted for it. Mr. Horne Tooke said, that when he heard the sentiments of the men, from whom the future judges of the land were to be taken, giving their votes as honest men for such measures, he trembled to think of the country's situation, when they should sit upon the bench.



"report, than by any he could add." All the restrictive and coercive bills touching Ireland, were passed under the still prevailing influence of Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville; the opposition to them was numerically insignificant. During the first Session of the Imperial Parliament no question respecting Ireland caused any difference between the seceders and their successors. They both equally deprecated the very mention of Catholic Emancipation, and emulated each other in zeal for curbing and coercing the Irish people.

1801

Most of the material acts of the first session of the Imperial Parliament, which particularly affected Ireland, were passed in the absence and without the advice of the old Governor, who knew the state of the Country, and in the presence and with the concurrence of the new Governor, who had it to learn. These first fruits of the Union demonstrate the quality of the stock, from which it sprang. Every act of the United Parliament, that touched the Irish Government, was in truth, the act of Mr. Pitt. But unhappy Ireland was doomed to be drenched to the last dregs of the cup of bitterness prepared by that inexorable enemy to her interests, though administered by Lord Cornwallis and Lord Hardwicke on one side of the water, and Mr. Addington and the rest of Mr. Pitt's temporary substitutes on the other. She can only be admitted to the full participation of her constitutional rights, and the blessings which the Constitution in full purity is calculated to impart, when the whole of Mr. Pitt's system

Acts of the  
Imperial  
Parliament  
affecting  
Ireland.

1801.

shall have been radically destroyed. The few Members of the Imperial Parliament, who saw clearly and spoke freely upon the state of Ireland, were still nauseated with the blood and misery occasioned by that system, and as the real friends of Ireland,\* and the true friends of the British Empire they importunately warned the deluded majority of Parliament, against a precipitate recurrence to the fatal system of coercion. But unfortunately for Ireland with the Addington administration was formally established the unconstitutional and baneful system of pledged admission to Office. Mr. Addington did not definitively accept of Office, until Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville had given him a solemn pledge of honor for their constant, active and zealous

\* In debating Mr. Grey's motion on the state of the nation on the 25th March, 1801, Mr. Fox held this language, " he  
 " thought the state of Ireland, where tortures were introduced,  
 " and the cruelties of Robertspierre improved upon, demanded a  
 " strict enquiry. He had always spoken his feelings. The conduct of Government, that produced the rebellion, was subject  
 " for enquiry. All the remedies applied had failed. Coercion had  
 " failed." I love (said he) the Irish Nation. I know them well.  
 " I know many individuals of that Country, and if any Country  
 " ever had a characteristic, that Country is marked for gratitude above all others. I would have a Catholic to have as  
 " much power, and as much influence in the Empire as a Protestant. This I call *Catholic Emancipation*. When you do  
 " not give them a right to become Members of Parliament, you  
 " give them nothing. Whilst they are excluded from this  
 " house, they are not virtually represented." The opinion of that great and uncorrupted statesman speaks a volume.

support. And Mr. Addington pledged himself in a higher quarter, ever to resist the emancipation of Ireland.† 1801.

For more effectually settling the intended prolongation of the old system in Ireland, Lord Castlereagh went over to complete the arrangements; and during his absence Mr. Pelham supplied his Parliamentary proceedings.

† It often falls within the duty of the annalist to relate the convictions and impressions of the public, with reference to certain facts, of which conclusive evidence cannot be procured. It sometimes happens, that the conduct and language of public men go farther to prove secret engagements and pledges, than public and solemn disclaimers, and contradictions (even upon oath) will to disprove them. The public was at that time deeply impressed with a conviction, that mutual pledges had passed between the seceders and their successors. The author considers the rights and interests of the people, whose history forms the subject of these sheets, as not lightly affected by the pledge, which Mr. Addington entered into upon his acceptance of office, ever to resist the Emancipation of above 4 (or rather 5) millions of his Majesty's subjects, under every possible circumstance. In justice then to Ireland the author declares, that on the 29th day of September, 1803, Mr. Addington explicitly and repeatedly assured him in Downing-street, that he had given this pledge, which the author felt himself called upon to publish in print (vide his *Postliminious Preface*) in the year 1804, and finds himself still more urgently pressed for the verification of Irish history now to repeat. "In the course of this interview, "Mr. Addington very distinctly and very forcibly thrice intimated to the author, that by his pledged resistance to this question of Catholic Emancipation he came into, and continued in that house. The author presuming, that his Majesty had other motives for promoting him to that important station, took the liberty of expressing his hopes, that he was not

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place in Parliament, which afforded that gentleman an opportunity of reassuring the party of his unabated zeal for keeping down the people of Ireland, by the renovation or continuance of his favourite system of coercion. In addition to the arguments of the report of the Secret Committee, he warmly pressed upon the house, that as from the report of a Secret Committee of the Irish Parliament, in 1798, the plot was developed, upon which the rebellion in that country was founded, and as it afterwards appeared from another report of a Secret Committee in 1799, that some persons at Hamburg were endeavouring to resume those projects which had been defeated by the wise prolongation of the coercive measures, which were then about expiring, it became requisite to renew that system, as the only security against insurrection, anarchy, rapine and bloodshed. Mr. Pelham's zeal was rewarded by a peerage, besides the office of Secretary of State. Several acts of regulation arising out of the measure of Union were passed; such were

"inexorable in that opposition; he replied, he was not to be moved from it." It must be remarked, that this was made known to the author, not by way of confidential communication, but of official boast. Though not justified in giving the following as an historical fact, he feels warranted in declaring, that he believes the assertion of the person, who assured him he has heard from the mouth of Lord Eldon, that he accepted of the great seal under a similar pledge. Hearsay evidence may convince, though not convict. The late prevailing lust for disclaiming such pledges bespeaks the criminal turpitude of entering into them.

the acts for encreasing the number of militia officers, regulating the salaries and perquisites of the judges, recovering the King's debts upon judgments signed in England, for extending copy right in books to Ireland, regulating contested elections in Ireland, and exempting from certain English duties such of the Irish members of both houses of Parliament, as came from Ireland to attend their senatorial duties, and had only an occasional residence in England, and for permitting the removal of their private effects free from custom-house duties. Beyond the two seventeenths of the English loan, which amounted to 4,186,000*l.* the Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer had to provide for several sums\*

\* It may not be uninteresting to the reader to know the annual sums usually voted by Parliament, for the public service of Ireland; Mr. Corry gave them as the resolutions usually voted by the Irish Parliament.

	<i>£.</i>
For the Protestant Charity Schools . . . . .	19,731
Foundling Hospital, . . . . .	13,846
Marine Society . . . . .	1,846
Hibernian Society for Soldiers' Children . . . . .	3,655
Westmoreland Hospital . . . . .	6,183
Roman Catholic Seminary . . . . .	7,384
Society for discountenancing Vice . . . . .	276
Female Orphan House . . . . .	461
House of Industry . . . . .	15,594
Pratique Dublin Port . . . . .	966
Apprehending Offenders . . . . .	2,307
Criminal Prosecutions . . . . .	23,076
Civic Buildings . . . . .	29,538
Printing the Statutes of Ireland . . . . .	3,477
Printing the Gazette . . . . .	6,485

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exclusive of Ireland's share of the loan; the whole supplies of the year amounted to about 7,100,000*l*. Such were the first fruits of the Union: increase of taxes and decrease of the means of paying them.

Lord Cornwallis pressed to continue in Ireland.

Lord Cornwallis had so successfully soothed the minds of the Catholics, and checked the external ferocity of the Orangemen during the progress to Union, that the new administration, not yet initiated into the depth of Mr. Pitt's real designs, repeatedly importuned him to remain at his post, considering him as the best fitted to reconcile the Catholic mind to the refusal of their promised emancipation, and the revival and perpetuation of the system of proscription. Such an attempt even upon Catholic credulity was too rank for Lord Corn-

Treasury Incidents - - - - -	1,846
Working the Wicklow Gold Mines - - - - -	923
The Battleaxe Guards - - - - -	683
Herald's new Clothing - - - - -	1,002
Offices of Records - - - - -	5,538
For Stationary for Dublin Castle and public Offices -	18,166
To the Accountant General - - - - -	313
To Deputy Accountant General - - - - -	221
To the Pay-master of Corn Bounties - - - - -	184
To the Inspector General of Imports and Exports -	184
To the first Clerk to ditto - - - - -	129
To the Examiner of Excise - - - - -	129
To Linen-Bounties - - - - -	19,938
First Fruits - - - - -	4,615
Dublin Society - - - - -	5,076
Paving - - - - -	9,230
Widening Streets - - - - -	4,153
Irish Treasury Bills - - - - -	522,209

wallis, whilst his unredeemed pledge still stared him in the face. He prevailed with Mr. Addington to accept of his resignation, with a tender of his unqualified services to support the new administration in any quarter, where he should not be brought into contact with those, whom he had so recently duped and betrayed. The old parts were only to be gotten up with effect by new performers. He engaged to instruct and make every preparation for his successor, so as effectually to ensure the continuance of the system.

Lord Cornwallis valued himself upon his success in seducing such, as he thought the principal Irish Catholics into a support of the Union. The cessation of tyranny and persecution, the occasional administration of equal justice, and the dispensation of some favor, were to the Catholics an inebriating foretaste, which excited enthusiasm for complete emancipation. They were beguiled into a reliance upon the sincerity of the only viceroy, under whom they had partaken of such blessings. In the close of the first session of the Imperial Parliament, they had been taught to look to the termination of all their sufferings. The Catholics must ever be expected to consider the deprivation of any political rights enjoyed by their fellow subjects as actual persecution. The last man to persuade them out of that conviction was he, who had promised them complete emancipation, as a measure imperiously necessary for the salvation of the state. Great were the disappointment and shock of the Catholic body,

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Lord Cornwallis's address in duping the Irish Catholics.

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upon the first intimation of Mr. Pitt's intent to resign his situation to their avowed enemies, and to support those enemies in all their measures of Government. This was known in Dublin in the first week of February; and so apprehensive was Lord Cornwallis\* *of immediate disturbances and other bad effects from the accounts from England*, that immediately on receipt of the first public reports of that transaction, he gave to Dr. Troy a paper, to be instantly circulated amongst the Catholics to prevent them. His Lordship retained his situation nearly four months, (the precise duration of his Majesty's disorder) after these accounts had arrived from England, and exhibited symptoms of marked anxiety to persuade the Catholics of his sincerity in their cause, sensible, unquestionably, that this early dereliction of it and coalition with their enemies, must have thrown it under suspicion. In the next month, therefore, he wrote his disclaimer of the dedication of Sir Richard Musgrave's *Memoirs of the different rebellions in Ireland*,† as being a *work tending to revive the dreadful animosities, which it was the duty of every good subject to endeavour to compose*. In the like spirit of giving an air of sincerity to all his efforts in favor of the Catholics, it was his Lordship's wish to receive an address from their general body, before he quitted Ireland, expressive of their satisfaction and gratitude for his countenance and kindness to

\* Vide his Lordship's letter to the Author, p. 47.

† Vide the History of that transaction, Introduction p. 107.



them, during his viceroyalty. To procure such an address, some of the Catholics, who were the best received at the castle, and knew most of his Excellency's personal feelings, proposed to and canvassed several of their brethren to convene meetings in different places. The proposal was coldly received, and so many circumstances had then concurred to open their eyes to the deceit played upon them, that no address was signed.

The Earl of Hardwicke arrived in Dublin to assume the reins of Government on the 26th of May. The Marquis Cornwallis arrived in London on the 3d of June. He was a man of very moderate talents: had a prepossessing address. Under the apparent frankness of the Soldier he concealed the duplicity of the Courtier. In Ireland he certainly fulfilled the mission, upon which he was sent by Mr. Pitt. He put a temporary stop to the bloody system of terrorism by checking the open barbarities of the Orangemen, and thereby closed the rebellion without further effusion of human blood. He passed the Union by openly favouring the Catholics, and through the means of his tool, Lord Castlereagh, by privately flattering and preserving the Orangemen, and by courting every Protestant, whose influence or vote in Parliament he could ensure by flattery or favor. Throughout all the profligate manoeuvres of that fatal measure he proved himself the trusty tool of power and deception. In no instance did he display the great Statesman or General. After his return to England, he was

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Arrival of  
Lord Hard-  
wicke and  
departure  
of Lord  
Cornwallis.

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never known either in public or private to have attempted to forward the emancipation of the Irish Catholics, to which however he ever affected to have sacrificed his situation. The public can be now no longer duped by the insidious practices of Mr. Pitt's systematic management of Ireland. Every page of her *Post-Union* History teems with evidence of his having forced a Rebellion, in order to drown her independence in the blood, and bury her felicity under the ashes of the Country, in the wicked (perhaps fruitless) hope of preventing her resurrection by the immovable tomb-stone of *Legislative Union*. Mr. Pitt's malice to Ireland extended beyond the grave. With a view to raise an eternal bar to Catholic concession, he introduced an apparent system of justice and conciliation, to furnish an argument, that the Catholics might be happy and prosperous, as he foresaw they would be tranquil and loyal, without emancipation. At the same time he secretly laboured to establish, strengthen and perpetuate the Orange Societies, which he well knew to be incompatible with and essentially destructive of the peace, concord and prosperity of the Country. In that work of deception Mr. Pitt's prime and most efficient instrument was Marquis Cornwallis\*.

\* The Irish Annalist would step beyond his bounds, were he to follow that Nobleman, and attempt to draw his portrait in the character of a General or Statesman in America, or India, or at Amiens.

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**HISTORY OF IRELAND.**

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**CHAPTER II.***Administration of the Earl of Hardwicke.*

Mr. Pitt having selected Ireland as the only part of the British Empire, which furnished him with a ground of liberal policy for retiring from office, at a crisis, which demanded a Government of all the talent and virtue, which could be brought to act in concert, it followed, that the new Administration was formed of such persons only, as were ready to follow up Mr. Pitt's plans of Government in every particular, with the ostensible exception of Catholic emancipation. The condition of enlisting under Mr. Addington's banners was not the abnegation of Mr. Pitt's professed opinion, that the measure was necessary for the salvation of the State, but a pledge to oppose that necessary measure, as long as the Placeman should hold his situation. Under this tenure or condition Mr. Addington boasted of having accepted of the Premiership; it is generally believed, that Lord Eldon took in hand the management of the King's conscience; and it is

Principles  
of the new  
Admini-  
stration.

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was thought of sufficient consequence to be taken on pledge, was in like manner holden. The forced scruples about the Executive assent to a bill, which the Lords and Commons might advise for the salvation of the State had been lately forced upon his Majesty's mind and feelings in the unresisting moments of actual disease, and rivetted upon gradual and precarious convalescence. Although Mr. Fox, as every liberal patriot, were ready to support the wise and just measure of putting an end to Catholic thralldom in Ireland, and extirpating all intolerance and religious dissention; yet from a sense of their inability to carry it, none of them had brought the subject before the public. From Mr. Pitt had it latterly originated; yet he permitted, at least he neither discouraged nor prevented his creatures from setting afloat the most malicious and senseless charges of pressing the violation of the sworn compact with the people, upon the tender conscience of a convalescent, though relapsing, Sovereign, as his piety encreased with infirmity and age. Whilst Ireland remained legislatively independent of Great Britain, there might have existed some pretence, however slight, for considering the Irish Government independent of the British Cabinet; but since the Union the Viceroy of Ireland could be viewed in no other light, than as a leading Member of the British Ministry. As therefore it was notorious, that Mr. Addington had accepted of the arduous charge of a distressed and perplexed Govern-

ment, upon his pledged resistance to Catholic concession, so was it a necessary consequence, that the most efficient and local Minister of that fundamental pledge of Government should be the Viceroy of Ireland. It must however be admitted, that Mr. Addington had not the hardyhood to undertake the charge without the strongest assurances of the marked confidence of his Sovereign, the zealous support of the King's friends, and the unqualified assistance of all the talents and influence of the seceders. Under this command and direction, and with these auxiliaries, Lord Hardwicke assumed the Government of Ireland, doubly committed to effectuate Mr. Pitt's views upon that Country, by resisting her emancipation, which that seceding Minister professed to be necessary for the salvation of the Empire, and by giving strength and permanence to the opposite system of keeping her divided and depressed under an insidious display of affection, mildness and conciliation.

Many and important debates upon Irish matters took place in the Imperial Parliament, after the appointment of Lord Hardwicke to the important Government of that Country, before he set out to take possession of it, and after the return of Lord Cornwallis to England, though neither of them took any share in them. Of all the Debates, which took place in the first Session of the Imperial Parliament, that afforded the most historical evidence of the pre-determined perseverance in the old

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Parliamentary  
Debates on  
Irish matters.

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system, which arose out of Mr. Abbot's motion on the 10th of June, for resolving into a Committee on the Irish Martial Law Bill. It has been before observed, that Mr. Abbott had been specially selected to tread in the footsteps and follow up the spirit of his predecessor, Lord Castlereagh, in the office of Chief Secretary. It was a late hour, at which Mr. Abbott made the motion, and several friends of the Bill, such as Mr. Stewart of Killymoon, Mr. Bagwell, and others pressed him not to bring on a matter of such importance in so thin a House, and when many of the Irish Members had retired upon the presumption, that from the protraction of other business that Motion would be postponed. Mr. Abbott inexorably insisted upon its being brought on, as the tranquillity of Ireland so materially depended upon it, and the then present Bill would expire on the 24th of the Month. The question having been then put, and carried in the affirmative, the House went into the Committee, Mr. Bragge in the Chair. Mr. Abbott having stated, that the present Bill was a mere transcript of that, which the House had passed about three months before, the only blank, which was to be filled up, was that, which should ascertain the period for the Bill continuing in force, and accordingly moved to fill it up with these words: *during the continuance of the war, and for one month after the signing of the definitive treaty of peace.* Mr. George Ponsonby rose to resist the monstrous and abominable proposition,

which he said was unprecedented, not only in the worst times of Ireland, but in the worst times of England, in the days of the most Gothic barbarism; in times of the most infuriated bigotry and political rancour, that ever disgraced the annals of these realms. The proposition held out, that no change of circumstances could restore the people of Ireland to peace and loyalty, and that nothing short of military execution and utter extermination of the Natives could restore the authority of his Majesty's Government in that Country. It was a declaration to France, that so long as she continued at war with this Country, the People of Ireland, excluded from British Liberty and British Constitution, would ever be found her steady, attached, and unalterable friends and allies. If any necessity for such a law should unfortunately exist, why not pass it upon evidence of that necessity from year to year? Was this the specimen of liberality, of mild and parental Legislation, by which the People of Ireland had been taught to shape their hopes of benefit and happiness in Legislative Union? Mr. Addington was so intimidated with Mr. Ponsonby's energy and firmness, that he disclaimed any previous knowledge of Mr. Abbott's intention of making such a proposal, and acquiesced in Mr. Ponsonby's argument. Mr. Grey inveighed against the principles of the Motion in the strongest terms of reprobation: If any thing, he said, could encrease his astonishment at such a motion coming

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from such a man as the Right Hon. Gentleman who introduced it, it was the hardihood of his venturing to come forward to that House with such a proposition, without any previous communication whatever with that Minister, who had appointed him to his situation, and who was responsible for every measure of his Administration: but when he recollected that Right Hon. Gentleman, before he was in power, to be the ready advocate of all their measures, prompt on all occasions to anticipate the late Ministers in their thirst for inordinate power, to be the strenuous supporter of every harsh law, to be the author of a Bill for the severe measure of reviving forfeitures in cases of treason, and this before he had any personal interest in the government of the country, he was little surprised, that the first public act of his government towards Ireland should be one, which augured so inauspiciously to the people of that country: but he sincerely hoped his government would ere long be changed, as from the principles he manifested, no tranquillity was to be expected in any country committed to his direction. Mr. Addington offered a drivelling apology to the House for his friend, Mr. Abbott. He told them " that the proposition had certainly been made to him on the preceding day; but it was not explicitly expressed, and he did not think it would be made, though certainly he had a right to expect it." Mr. Abbott exculpated himself upon the report of the Committee, which had explicitly said, there



could be no hope of tranquillity in Ireland, while the continuance of the war enabled the disaffected to look for foreign aid. He therefore felt no reproach attach to him for stating what the Committee conceived should be the proper limitation of the bill; nor was he ashamed to give up his opinion, when the sense of the House was against him.

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On the 17th of June, when the Secretary of State in the Lords moved the reading of the bill for continuing martial law in Ireland, he did it not only upon the ground of credit, to which the report of the Secret Committee was entitled, but of the claim, which the mild and prudent character of Lord Hardwicke demanded at their hands, for transferring to him that plenary confidence; they had so fortunately placed in his predecessor, Lord Cornwallis. Lord *Fitzwilliam* deprecated the revival and prolongation of a system, which not only deviated, as the Noble Secretary had admitted, from the principles of the constitution, but which had greatly increased the disaffection and consequently aggravated the evils, which the country was suffering. He complained heavily of the oppression and injustice exercised under the bill. He denied, that the country wished the bill to be renewed: but asserted, that the Government wished it, in order to keep the people more immediately at their nod. Lord *Suffolk*, in opposing the bill, illustrated what had fallen from his friend, Lord *Fitzwilliam*, by quoting the authority of Sir Ralph

Important  
debates in  
the Lords  
on the  
Martial  
Law Bill.

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Abercrombie, who, after he had quitted Ireland, assured him, in answer to his enquiries about the state of that country, that *the state and conduct of the Irish were just what the Government chose to make them*; inferring, that if those in authority oppressed them, they would become seditious and tumultuous, but not otherwise. That upright and able General had also said, that he generally travelled only with two servants perfectly unmolested, which shewed that the turbulent state of Ireland had been greatly exaggerated. The debate was heated and long. Lord *Limerick*, Lord *Carleton*, Lord *Longford*, and Lord *Somerton* (Archbishop of Cashel) vehemently supported the authority of the Report, and assumed to themselves, whose fortunes lay in Ireland, a species of exclusive credit for what they asserted of the disturbed and dangerous state of that country. The Duke of *Leinster* wholly differed from them. The bill was warmly opposed by Lord *Holland* and Lord *Caernarvon*. The debates were very animated both in the Lords and Commons upon the Bill *to indemnify all persons in securing, imprisoning, and detaining individuals under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act since the 1st of February, 1793*. Several petitions from sufferers under that Act were presented against the bill. Ministers were at first for not receiving them: they were not however rejected, though ultimately unattended to. It was urged by Mr. *Grey*, that the title of the Bill should have been, *a Bill for the encourage-*

ment and protection of secret informers. Indemnity Bills had been very properly passed in 1715 and 1746 for indemnifying Ministers for acts done in the heat of rebellion, which might not have been strictly legal. But to cover every illegal and oppressive act of Ministers for twelve years was unprecedented and unconstitutional. It went to establish a most pernicious system of government, and was in fact the severest censure upon the Administration, that required it. The Attorney General (now Lord Ellenborough) warmly defended the whole system of coercion, which rebellion and treason, he emphatically said, had rendered necessary. All done under it was meritorious. He would embrace a *Reynolds* with gratitude, while he spurned the false *O'Connor*, whom no language could describe.

The arrival of Lord Hardwicke in Dublin produced no change in any of the departments of the Castle, or in the Country. It was evident, that nothing was intended by a change of men but a continuance of the old trade under a new firm. The new Viceroy was instructed and pledged ever to resist a great State measure, which his immediate predecessor affected to have sacrificed his situation to the necessity of carrying. Lord Cornwallis ingratiated himself with the Catholic body, and seduced many of them to support the Union by applauding the measure of emancipation as vitally necessary to the peace and welfare of the country, by pretending to sacrifice his situation to his inability

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Lord Hard-  
wicke's ar-  
rival in  
Dublin.

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to carry it, and pledging himself not to embark again in his Majesty's government without the ability of carrying that vital measure. Lord Hardwicke had to gain the affection of the Catholics by disguising his mission to resist their emancipation, under the cessation of external rancour and persecution, and some personal favour and indulgence to individuals. Notwithstanding several of the bills relating to Ireland were still pending in the Lords after the return of Lord Cornwallis to England, he took no part in any of the debates, nor did he condescend to impart to the House any information concerning the state of the country, which he must have possessed from his official situation, and without the knowledge of which the Parliament could not fairly legislate for Ireland. Early did the Imperial Parliament manifest something beyond indifference for the inviolability of the Union, by receiving and afterwards acting upon a petition from the distillers of England, to deprive the Irish distillers of the advantage of bringing their spirits to the English market upon terms fixed and established by the articles of Union.

State of  
Parties on  
the change  
of Min-  
isters.

The dissension and differences, which broke out in the first session of the Imperial Parliament between the seceders and the new ministers, originated from no Irish subject. They arose out of the wishes and rumours of peace with France, which began to pervade the nation. Mr. Pitt's party had split amongst themselves upon the question of peace, and that was the real ground of his secession. The Whigs

held the new Ministry in utter contempt, as the feeble dregs of the impotent puppets of their mischievous predecessors. They even offered them their support upon the question of peace, and some other points, upon which it was conceived, they might be opposed by the seceders. On the other hand, the seceders took frequent occasion to remind the new members of their precarious tenure of pliancy to those, who placed them in their situations. The Parliament was prorogued in this awful crisis by Commission. The last act of State before the prorogation affecting Ireland, was to call Mr. Pelham up to the House of Lords for his meritorious services in having driven the system of terrorism so effectually throughout the administration of Lord Camden. The several appointments to the new administration displayed the most irreffragable evidence, that the continuance of the system of division and oppression in Ireland was the chief pivot, upon which the late \* changes turned. The new pledges bound

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\* Upon these grounds was it, that the Author, after his eyes had been opened to the reality of the system by Mr. Addington's conduct on Michaelmas day, 1803, published at the beginning of 1804 in his *postliminous preface*, his sentiments upon it: "Great was his surprise, when he passed in review the long procession of characters implicated in, dependant upon, or interested in the continuance of the present system of government in Ireland, who now fill high offices in the state, and command an influence upon his Majesty's councils: all combining to revive, extend and give permanency to the *Machiavelian* principle so fatal to Ireland, *divide. et. impera.*" The Author undertakes not to combat these principles: he

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Mr. Addington and Lord Eldon to oppose her emancipation in every possible situation, and the tried fidelity of the rest of the Cabinet in executing the Premier's views upon Ireland superseded the necessity of any fresh engagement or instruction to continue their former services towards that country. These were the Duke of Portland, the Earls of Westmoreland and Camden; and the Lords Pelham, Hobart, and Castlereagh. Lord Chatham presided over their councils, as an earnest of his brother's approbation of their measures.

Mr. Pitt's  
friends a-  
gainst Mr.  
Addington's Ad-  
ministration.

Whilst the imbecile selection of Mr. Pitt's deputies continued to act up to the real spirit of their appointments, they were secure under his countenance and support. With reference to Ireland they never acted otherwise. But from the moment, that they affected to touch the question of peace, and to move out of leading strings, as they were encouraged partly by the Whigs, who had been voracious for peace, and partly by that official confidence, which the possession of power never fails to inspire, most of Mr. Pitt's associates in secession rose in open opposition to the new Ministers, and thereby manifested the true grounds of their actual defection. In order to keep up the delusion, Mr. Pitt almost alone sided with the new Ministers for a time, though his colleagues, Lord

"pretends not to lay, but to expose to view the *Orange spirit*,  
"which lies a deadly *incubus* upon the Ministry of the country."  
The disastrous events of the six intermediate years have too fatally illustrated the force of those observations.

Grenville, Mr. Windham, Mr. Canning and others, frequently seized opportunities of reviling their incapacity and presumption. Lord Cornwallis, who had identified himself as nearly as possible with Mr. Pitt in every measure leading to the illusion of the Catholics, would accept of no place under the Addington Administration, though he readily undertook to negotiate the peace, which had been rendered necessary, through the misconduct and improvidence of Mr. Pitt; and had produced that despondency and apprehension, which in reality drove him from the helm.

No sooner had Lord Hardwicke been settled in his government, than he procured it to be given out, that his instructions and his disposition went hand in hand in following up the mild and conciliatory system of his immediate predecessor. He was not sensible, that the deceptive character of the late Government was now developing itself to the nation. The eve of the old and the dawn of the new Administration threw a light upon the conduct of each Chief Governor, which discovered a systematic determination to close the source of Catholic concession, under the dazzling glare of gentleness, affection and liberality. In order to promote that system, which Mr. Addington had pledged himself to support and forward, and Lord Hardwicke went over to perpetuate, the new Lieutenant grasped at popularity by more insignificant acts of benevolence, more ostentatious charities, and a more absolute and extensive purchase of

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Opening  
symptoms  
of Lord  
Hard-  
wicke's  
Admini-  
stration.

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the press, than any of his predecessors. They had but to execute the peremptory commands of rigour, intolerance, and coercions; he to blind the people of Ireland, and deceive that of England in his secret commission to resist the expected emancipation of the country. The external change produced some internal good. Lord Cornwallis had abated much, and Lord Hardwicke more of the ferocity of the system: and allegiance advanced, as the system appeared to retire. As Lord Hardwicke was instructed to keep on foot, just so much of the system as Mr. Pitt and Lord Cornwallis had intended to be rendered permanent, every arrangement, which Lord Hardwicke found established by his predecessor, and every project and intention of the noble Marquis were adhered to by his successor with punctilious scrupulosity. The promotion of Lord Castlereagh to the British Cabinet had occasioned the necessity of appointing a new Secretary; and no man was found more ready to pledge himself to perform the entire functions of that office in the real spirit of his immediate predecessor, than Mr. Abbott. All the subaltern situations, from the Chief Secretary to the lowest runner of the Police, and the whole of the Orange magistracy were left untouched.

Lord Hard-  
wicke's  
consistence

Lord Hardwicke took occasion during the summer to meet the elevation of the Catholic mind at the appearance of conciliation by less equivocal symptoms of confidential protection to the orangemen. One of the first acts of favor after his acceptance of the



Government, was the grant of the collectorship of the Dublin City excise to Sir Richard Musgrave, although his immediate successor had found occasion to reprove him for reviving the dreadful animosities of the country, which it was the duty of every good subject to endeavour to compose. A species of delinquency, the least calculated to procure him anticipated favor in the eyes of a governor of systematic conciliation. An extraordinary and unprecedented mark of favor and attention to the orange party was exhibited in a magnificent *gala* dinner given by his excellency to all the captains of the yeomanry corps, at the Rotunda in Dublin. This was returned by the Captains of the Yeomanry to his Excellency in a superb entertainment at the same place. \* The divided sentiments of the public upon the merits of these corps, could not fail to render these early marks of predilection from the first executive magistrate irreconcilable with a professed system of conciliation. During the remaining summer months, nothing remarkable happened, that affected Ireland. The public mind was chiefly occupied in anticipating the effects of the treaty of alliance between France, Spain, Portugal and Russia, and our negociations for peace with France.

\* The genuine spirit of these meetings is manifested by the toasts, which are given after the repast. On neither of these occasions was there a single toast upon the list, which tended even remotely to inspire, or obliquely hinted at the conciliation, harmony or general welfare and prosperity of Ireland.

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Messrs.  
Sirr and  
Sandys.

The spirit and character of a government become visible in the conduct of its confidential servants, when they exercise the discretion entrusted to them. Before and during the rebellion, it was thought fitting by the Government to multiply and enlarge the powers of the Magistrates, for the purpose of better discovering persons implicated in it. These extraordinary powers were still kept up. The two principal persons invested with them, were Major Sirr and Major Sandys, the Town Major and Deputy Town Major of the City of Dublin. The former had been constituted the tutelary guardian of the Castle yard, possessing more absolute power over the lives and liberties of the inhabitants of Dublin, than any officer civil or military within the district; and the latter though subordinate in rank, was nearly co-ordinate in power with his principal. He was Provost Marshal: in fact, the gaoler of a newly erected place of confinement in the Castle yard, called the Provost. These Co-partners had for some years exercised their extraordinary powers with vigour somewhat beyond that of the law, in spite of the conciliatory professions of the new Lord Lieutenant, and notwithstanding the rebellion had been put down full three years. On the 11th of September, 1801, Major Sirr, under colour of his office, seized a respectable Brewer of the City of Dublin in a crowded coffee house, and threw him into a loathsome cell of about 13 feet by 12 called the hospital of Sandy's Provost, without any charge or informa-

1801.

tion, or without any other known cause, than because he spoke with too much freedom to Major Sirr. He had brought an action against Major Sandys for having swindled him out of a valuable mare, which the Defendant had, notwithstanding thought proper to settle by returning the mare and paying the costs. A verdict \* was found against the Town

\* Vide the printed trial of Hevey v Sirr in 1802 before Lord Kilwarden in K. B. This trial is referred to, as an historical fact of no trivial moment, as it was the first stand made against the overbearing pressure of that adventitious power, since the commencement of the reign of terror. This verdict, small as were the damages, was extorted from a very prejudiced jury by the invincible energies of Mr. Curran's eloquence. The case calls upon the historian to develop something more of that system, under which these unassailable powers had been vested in, and were so long exercised by Majors Sirr and Sandys. They had taken into their service and peculiar confidence for 2 or 3 years, the notorious perjured informer *Jemmy O' Brien*, to whom they had allotted as an appendage to their own office of inquisition a subaltern apartment in the Castle yard, where he and a permanent guard were on constant duty for every emergency. They had also procured him the appointment of deputy keeper of Bedford Tower in the Castle. This *Jemmy O'Brien* was a deserter from the army: he had been prominently active in putting up or swearing in united Irishmen, and after having been formally enlisted as an informer, had been enabled to raise and marshall a corps of desperadoes, as like to himself as he could engage. They were uniformly armed, like their Captain, with pistols, hangers and poignards under their coats, and bludgeons in their hands. Major Sirr himself went generally accoutered with two brace of pistols, a dagger and a poignard. Thus in detachments they made their domiciliary and other visits mostly by night, generally by force. Upon the sole evidence of this man, scores were hanged, and

1801.

Major in an action for false imprisonment for 150l. though the damages had been laid at 500.

hundreds flogged and imprisoned. At one time 16 were capitally indicted upon his sole evidence (one witness sufficing to convict of high treason in Ireland): but Mr. Curran in cross examining him on the trial of Patrick Finny, so palpably convinced the jury of barefaced perjury, that the Judge ordered the remaining 15 to be discharged, no credit being due to the testimony of such a perjured informer. He was, notwithstanding warmly befriended and encouraged by Majors Sirr and Sandys and other persons of more consequence about the castle. On a Sunday evening, Major Sirr with Jemmy O'Brien marched armed in costume with a party of soldiers to disperse some football players from a field near the barracks; it was precipitately cleared on their approach. There happened however to be strolling in the field, with his wife, a decrepit man, one Hoey, a Grocer from Essex-street, for the sake of air, having been long confined by illness. As he was feebly attempting to crawl through a gap in the field wall, he was assailed by Jemmy O'Brien and most inhumanly butchered by repeated stabs in the presence of his wife and of many others. The murderer marched back unmolested with the soldiers to the castle, where he remained secure, in the exercise of his usual functions, for above a week, during which, no attempt was made by the Sheriffs, Magistrates or officers of justice to apprehend him. Major Sirr did not surrender him, and Alderman James and other County Magistrates absolutely refused to take examinations of the murder. Examinations were at last taken, and a warrant issued for the apprehending of O'Brien, which was effected by means of a large reward given to the serjeant of a highland regiment, which then mounted the Castle guard. He was not brought to trial for above 6 months after the murder. He was instantly convicted, and the public indignation accompanied with a general conviction, that he would be pardoned obliged Lord Cornwallis to refuse the most powerful intercessions in his favour. Above 200,000 spectators attended this

The summer was chiefly spent in negotiating with France, and on the 1st of October the preliminaries of peace between his Majesty and the French republic, were signed at Lord Hawkesbury's office in Downing-street, by his Lordship, on the part of his Majesty, and by Mr. Otto on the part of the French Government.\* The joyful tidings were

Peace with  
France and  
meeting of  
Parliament

execution, and contrary to the usual feelings of the public in the awful moment of a malefactor being launched into eternity, the mob rent the air with three successive shouts of exultation. A ~~escort~~ of cavalry attended the corpse to Surgeons' Hall, where it was to have been dissected; but through the earnest solicitation of Majors Sirr and Swan and Alderman James, the body was not dissected, but interred behind the old men's hospital. After the corpse had been deposited at Surgeons' Hall, the populace took the car, on which it had been conveyed, and led it several times round the statue of King William, when they repeated their shouts of exultation, that their land was freed from such a monster. An awful lesson to the surviving protectors, friends and employers of Jemmy O'Brien: In the trial of Finney, Mr. Curran said of this monster, "I have heard of assassination by sword, by pistol and by dagger, but here is a wretch who would dip the evangelists in blood. If he think he has not sworn his victim to death, he is ready to swear without mercy and without end. But oh! do not, I conjure you, suffer him to take an oath; the arm of the murderer should not pollute the purity of the gospel; if he will swear, let it be on the knife, the proper symbol of his profession."

\* The substance of the preliminaries was;

Great Britain retained the Islands of Ceylon in the east, and Trinidad in the West Indies, restoring all the other French, Spanish and Dutch possessions.

1801.

announced in the Dublin Gazette on the 4th of October, and a general illumination took place in consequence. The successful address, with which Lord Cornwallis had negotiated the Union and parried off its expected consequence, catholic emancipation, powerfully recommended him as Minister plenipotentiary for managing the treaty of Amiens, which was not expected to be concluded on the most open grounds of sincerity and good faith. The Parliament met on the 29th of October. The opening of this session dispersed the mysterious cloud, which had so long hung about the late secession. Lord Grenville, Mr. Windham and the other Seceders, who were adverse to peace went into open opposition, whilst Mr. Pitt alone still supported the Ministers.

State of  
Parties.

This difference in the parliamentary conduct of the seceders, was an unequivocal proof of the preexisting schism in the cabinet, and announced a moral impossibility, that they should ever again coalesce in any political union. The state of parties at this period

The Cape of Good Hope was to remain a free port.

Malta was to be independent both of Great Britain and France, and to be restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, under the protection of a third power, to be agreed upon.

Egypt was to be restored to the Porte's Dominions, of which power, as well as those of Naples and Portugal, with some inconsiderable exceptions were guaranteed in their full integrity, as they stood before the war.

Naples and Rome were to be evacuated by the French, and Porto Ferrajio by the English troops.

was discordant to a degree of animosity, that bespoke the reality, if not the consistency of the contention. Mr. Pitt with Mr. Canning, Lord Grenville with Lord Spencer, and Mr. Wyndham with Mr. Elliott, all with some minor satellites in their train, were drawing different ways. Some reprobated out of place, what they had proposed or supported when in office; others opposed the very measures of Government, which had originated from their own councils; some boasted, that they had always condemned in council as unsafe and unconstitutional, what they had applauded in Parliament as wise and virtuous in their colleagues. These collisions of the Ministers were only produced by reference to peace, treaties and war; not a chance spark was elicited from the Irish Catholic question. None now believed, that it ever had been an ingredient in the batch of secession. All felt, that its support was in future to be an insuperable bar to office. The old opposition supported the peace, and retained their principles.

The nation had been harrassed with such a variety of new as well as oppressive grievances during the war, that it did not readily settle in the fair enjoyment of the blessings of peace, when it was restored. Notwithstanding a royal proclamation had issued on the 12th of October, 1801, declaring a cessation of arms both at sea and land, between his Majesty and the French Republic, yet Government found it necessary to order some ships of the line, which, in December, 1801, were lying off Bantry Bay to

1802.

Effect of  
Peace.

1802.

sail immediately for the West Indies.\* This order was so unexpected and unwelcome to some of the crews, who were anticipating the enjoyment of returning to their families, from which they had been absent during the whole of the war, (some of them were from Kerry and Limerick) that it produced a mutiny on board three of the ships, the *Temeraire*, *Formidable* and *Majestic*. It was providentially discovered and put down before any blood had been spilled. The ships immediately sailed for Portsmouth, where fourteen of the mutineers were tried, and found guilty; thirteen were sentenced to be hanged, and the fourteenth (Christopher White) to receive 200 lashes on his bare back on board such ships in Portsmouth harbour or at Spithead, and at such times, as the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Admiralty should appoint. The execution accordingly took place in the three mentioned ships at Spithead. The unfortunate sufferers, by their composed and edifying conduct during their confinement and in the awful hour of execution, manifested tokens of sincere compunction and repentance for their guilt. Several of them to the last persisted in disclaiming an intent to murder, with which they had been charged. It appears, that the alarming spirit of insubordination had not pervaded any other parts of the Navy, and that the mutiny in the fleet lying off Bantry originated merely out of

\* As malicious reports were circulated, that this mutiny arose out of, and was a preconcerted part of the rebellion of 1798 it has been considered an act of justice to Ireland to show the reverse, by retailing what is not strictly within the scope of this work.



the peremptory orders to sail to the West Indies, when they expected their discharge, were entitled to their pay, and wished to return to their families. 1802.

In proportion as the new ministry was determined and pledged to resist the liberation of Ireland, Internal Spirit in Ireland. (hitherto Mr. Pitt supported them in all their measures) so was it bent upon keeping up the semblance of a mild and liberal Government. The language of the more prominent unionists, who boastingly devoted themselves to the system of perpetual seclusion and division, was, that now the time of trouble was past, things would be easily restored to their former prosperity and vigor. The wise measure of Union had enabled a vigorous and upright Government to conclude a peace, and peace would enable it to keep down Ireland, by checking her expectations to be emancipated either from the fear, or by the aid of a powerful enemy. The ruling principle of the Irish Government was not to be misunderstood. Perpetual seclusion to the Catholics was not only to be enforced by avoiding fresh irritation to the popular feelings, but by more deeply inculcating their unfitness and unworthiness to be admitted to the level of their fellow subjects. Hence individual forwardness in decrying the Catholic religion and vilifying its professors not only became justified by precept and example, but rewarded by grace and favour as meritorious.\*

\* The passions and feelings of individuals are not always controuled by policy and prudence, nor even checked by the more powerful precepts of the gospel. The Right Hon.

Death of  
Lord Clare.

The Earl of Clare, who had borne the principal part under Mr. Pitt in the successive operations of

George Ogle, who ever was prominently conspicuous for his antipathy against Catholics, had, at a public dinner in Dublin, uttered a most acrimonious invective against them, in which he had used the following coarse and insulting words. *A papist would swallow a false oath as easily as I would a poached egg.* The words were reported to Mr. Bernard Coile, of whom frequent mention has been made in the introduction to this volume. Being a man of keen sensibility, he was indignant at the insult, and some days after he approached Mr. Ogle in the hall of the Royal Exchange, with a paper in his hand, on which those words were written, and asked him, if he had uttered them; adding, *Sir, I am of that persuasion.* Mr. Ogle at first declined answering, and called to Mr. Alderman James. Mr. Coile remarked, that no third person could enable him to answer for his own words, and therefore demanded an immediate and categorical answer. Mr. Ogle after some hesitation, admitted, that he had uttered them, and did not disavow them. Then said Mr. B. Coyle, *your conduct was ungentleman-like, unbecoming a man and a christian.* After some days private consultation with his friends, whether a privy counsellor could condescend to call out a mercantile gentleman, Mr. Ogle was assured by his particular friend Mr. J. C. Beresford, that the dignity of a privy counsellor would not screen him from the notice of such an insult. Mr. Ogle sent a challenge to Mr. Coile, which was accepted. George King, Esq. was second to Mr. Ogle, and the late Edward Lysaght, Esq. was second to Mr. Coile. The parties met at twelve o'clock in Coldblow-lane, and exchanged 4 shots without effect. Mr. Coile insisted upon sending home for his own pistols, for he would not quit the ground, till one or the other fell. Thereupon, Mr. J. C. Beresford, who was present (many hundreds were on the field) went up to Mr. Ogle, and told him, that finding Mr. Coile so determined, he begged to be allowed to draw up an explanation, which should prevent blood, and

goaded, terrifying, dividing, and degrading his country, after the first Session of the Imperial Parliament was so little satisfied with the success of his own efforts, to infuse into the British public a disgustful horror of his countrymen, that he remained longer in England, than was necessary for any parliamentary purpose, in order to negotiate for some more efficient influence in the British Cabinet, than the Great Seal of Ireland was ever likely to give him. Mr. Pitt, who well knew that Nobleman's insatiable ambition, cautioned Mr. Addington against admitting him to a situation, in which, in case of resumption, (of which Mr. Pitt never lost sight,) he might meet a rival in the colleague. Lord Clare, foiled in his projects of British ambition, his pride wounded by the speeches of the late Duke of Bedford and some other of the Whig Lords in Parliament, who freely reminded him, that union had not transferred his dictatorial powers to the Imperial Parliament, had in disgust formed the resolution of withdraw- 1802.

Mr. J. C. Beresford wrote in pencil upon a paper, which he rested on the crown of his hat in the field, a declaration on the part of Mr. Ogle, that he had not used the word *papist* but *rebel*, and that the words he had uttered, were not meant to apply to the *Catholics*, but to *rebels*; on which Mr. Coile declared himself satisfied with that disavowal. Previous to the conclusion of the settlement, Judge Chamberlain had entered the field, commanded the peace, and the principals and seconds to attend at his house to enter recognizances; but Mr. Lysaght declared, that this circumstance should not, and it did not prevent the explanation.

1802.

ing from scenes, which he neither directed nor controuled\*. He had determined to return to his official situation in Ireland; but by the Union the Irish Seal had been shorn of its lustre and all political consequence. His departure from England was retarded by a severe injury, which he suffered by a fall from his horse. The disappointment of an ambitious and rancorous mind co-operating with the encrease of his disorder, hastened his discom-

\* A report was generally current in Dublin, which, however, the Author is under the necessity of admitting, he has not had any opportunity of verifying, that soon after Lord Clare's return to Ireland, he went to Mr. Abbot's apartments in the Castle, and in the old stile of his habitual dictation in that quarter, required a warrant to be instantly made out for the appointment of one of his creatures to a certain vacancy. Mr. Abbott was more tenacious of his newly acquired consequence, than Lord Clare was sensible of his declining influence. The Secretary's hesitation threw the Chancellor into a paroxysm of rage: it was followed up by a direct negative, with a firm intimation, that if any measure of Government should in its tendency in any manner affect the rights of the Court of Chancery, or break in upon the powers of the Keeper of the Great Seal, his Lordship would certainly be advised with in the first instance. But in the management and controul of the government patronage and other business of the Castle, it was not their future intention to trouble his Lordship. Lord Clare in that moment of humiliation felt himself, for the first time, practically reduced from an absolute monarch to an official subaltern in the very seat of his former power. He retired indignantly deprecating the Union, of which, had he anticipated these effects, he would have cut off, rather than have lent his arm to support.

tion, which happened in January 1802\*. His remains were interred with great pomp in St. Peter's church-yard, in Dublin.† Some of the populace attempted at the funeral to express their horror of the deceased by offering indignities to his corpse.

1802.  
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The long precarious state of Lord Clare's health had opened a wide scene of political intrigue for

Political  
arrange-  
ments of  
Ld. Clare's  
death.

\* A very just and high-coloured portrait of the Earl of Clare is given to the public by Sir Jonah Barrington in the first number of his interesting and eloquent History of the Union. He was a cotemporary, and for many years in the habits of professional intimacy, and political connexion with that Nobleman. He was therefore supereminently entitled to know, as he has proved himself qualified to represent to the life his political conduct. "His political conduct, (says he) has been accounted uniform: but in detail it will be found to have been miserably inconsistent. In 1781 he took up arms to obtain a declaration of Irish independence. In 1800 he recommended the introduction of a military force, to assist in its extinguishment. He proclaimed Ireland a free nation in 1785, and argued, that it should be a province in 1799: and in 1782 he called the acts of the British Legislature towards Ireland, *a daring usurpation on the rights of a free people*, (i. e. in his answer to the address of the Dublin University on the 14th April, 1782). And in 1800 he transferred Ireland to the Usurper. On all occasions his ambition as despotically governed his politics, as his reason invariably sunk before his prejudice."

† After Lord Clare understood (as his friends reported of him) that his case was helpless, he gave his mind to devotion, and three times on the same day partook of the holy sacrament from the hand of his brother-in-law, the Archbishop of Tuam. In the latter part of his illness he is said to have expressed a wish to be attended by a Catholic Priest, which was not complied with.

1802.

keeping up the system in Ireland, which he had been Mr. Pitt's chief instrument in establishing.\*

\* The vast and uncontrouled power delegated by Mr. Pitt to Lord Clare, for the successive purposes of goading, exhausting, and drepressing Ireland, was frequently used as an engine of personal revenge by his Lordship. It was a leading feature in his character to be implacable to those, who had offended, or even displeased him. And a cardinal vice of the system was to give facility, sanction and impunity to the most abandoned depravity. The Author's avowed intention in writing this history, is to expose to view enough of the secret machanism, with which it is worked, to convince the impartial public of the necessity of its utter abolition. For effecting this purpose he conceives, that the exhibition of one instance in detail, will produce more conviction, than the most authentic assertion of five hundred instances of general oppression, cruelty and injustice. With this particular view, the Author selected the case of Mr. Francis Arthur, a respectable merchant of Limerick, in that part of the south of Ireland, in which his Lordship's principal estate and residence lay: and he detailed it in a note in the 2d volume of his History of Ireland, from the invasion under Henry II. up to the union (p. 446) with as much brevity and precision, as the complex variety of incident and the nature of that work would admit of. With that gentleman Lord Clare was personally acquainted, and no man better knew the extent and weight of Mr. Arthur's property and influence in the country. His Lordship's interests had felt the power of their opposition: and his pride had been galled by the counteraction of his arbitrary despotism, from the liberal and constitutional principles of a man of independence. Thenceforth he was a marked object of proscription and persecution. He had moreover given private displeasure to his Lordship, and was a Roman Catholic. The Ministers of public terror were let loose upon him, and by their ingenuity of torturing, have exhibited in their native colors, the spirit and tactics of the sys-

Mr. Abbott, the Secretary, had by some very laudable enquiries into the abuses of the Custom-house and some other departments rendered himself unpopular with the officers and clerks interested in them. Yet so deeply had their influence taken root at the Castle, that his situation had for some time been rendered rather unpleasant; and he had long had it in his views to change it for a better. Mr. Abbott, who from his official situation commanded a priority of intelligence, kept a minute diary of the progress of Lord Clare's disorder, and having been informed, that he had become insensible, and that his case was hopeless, he immediately started for England, and thus arrived in Downing-street several hours before those, who had similar views,

1802.

tem. The simple narrative in abstract has appeared so romantic and unaccountable to several readers, that the Author has been charged with more than censurable assurance, for submitting to the public the incredible tale without vouchers or evidence to support it. There indeed he said, that *every incident of it had been or could be verified upon oath*. In deference, however, to those, who have certainly a right to withhold belief, till proof, in justice to the people interested in the abolition of the system, from which the oppression and cruelties emanated, in sympathy with the feelings of the friends and relatives of the respectable victim himself, and in support of the Author's accuracy of research and veracity of assertion, the whole of the case, trial, and proceedings, with proofs, documents and vouchers, will be given by way of appendix at the end of this volume. That, it is hoped, will remove scepticism, and gratify the reader, without drawing off his attention to the thread of the history, by the interruption of a long, though a most affecting and important episode.

1802.

but who deferred their departure until his actual dissolution. The race was to the swift; and Mr. Abbott's proposed arrangements took place accordingly. Sir John Mitford, the Speaker of the House of Commons, succeeded Lord Clare, and with the Great Seal of Ireland received the dignity of Peerage, by the title of Baron Redesdale. By a letter of the 9th of February, the Speaker informed Mr. Leigh, the senior clerk of the House of Commons, that his Majesty having appointed him Lord Chancellor of Ireland, it had become necessary, that he should resign the Chair of the House of Commons. When this letter had been read, Mr. Addington informed the House, his Majesty permitted them to proceed to the choice of a new speaker, and the following day being appointed, Mr. Abott was proposed by Sir William Grant and elected without a division.\* Mr. Wickham succeeded Mr. Abott, as the new Irish Secretary.

Case of Mr.  
Napper  
Tandy.

If the happiness and confidence of the people be worthy of the attainment of Government, it is evident, that every system of deception and duplicity must counteract that object. Hence the impervious veil of office, behind which all those

\* Mr. Sheridan proposed Mr. C. Dundas, who was seconded by Lord George Cavendish. He had proposed that Gentleman, when Sir John Mitford was chosen speaker. The same reasons, which influenced his conduct on that occasion, still operated. He disapproved of the late usage of the house, in always choosing Lawyers to fill the chair. Formerly it was the laudable practice to look for persons not holding offices dependant upon the will of the crown.



acts of state are perpetrated, the responsibility of which no man stands forth to assume. Individuals unjustly suffer the loss of character, fortune and life, and impunity, and indemnity preclude redress under the present system. State delinquency is defended, therefore, with pertinacity, as a common cause by the first minister, through every gradation, down to the lowest runner. The nation has an unalienable right to know what set of men have governed them upon these principles. Mr. Napper Tandy had early brought on himself the frowns of the castle, from his prominent zeal in forwarding the great volunteer association, when during the American war the nation was left to defend itself from foreign invasion; and more particularly, by insisting on their right to convene and deliberate on national concerns, after the great body of them had been disarmed and disbanded. His efforts for what he thought the rights of his country never abated. In 1792 he challenged\* Mr. Toler, then Solicitor General, (now Lord Norbury) for liberties he had taken with his character in the House of Commons; for which, on the motion of Mr. Cuffe (now Lord Tyravley) he was taken into custody for a breach of privilege, and

\* Mr. N. Tandy ever entertained the highest sense of honor. He was a Captain of the Liberty Artillery, and he procured a general court-martial to try him, upon the circumstances, that had occurred between Mr. Toler and himself; the result of which was, an unanimous and most honorable acquittal of Mr. Tandy of any charge, which could reflect on his courage or conduct as a gentleman or a soldier.

1802.

committed to Newgate, where he lay till the close of the session. In March 1793 he was returned on the calendar of the assizes at Dundalk, to take his trial upon a charge for having distributed a seditious publication signed "*Common Sense*," addressed to the Presbyterians of Ulster. It was a severe attack on the corruptions of the Government, and was peculiarly offensive to Government, from detailing the places, pensions, and emoluments then enjoyed by the Beresford family. He was stopped on the road within three miles of Dundalk, by his Law Agent, \* and with all prudent dispatch took shipping for America, where he remained in the town of Wilmington, till he went to France, where he was received into peculiar favor by the French Government, and promoted to the rank of General of Brigade. In the attempt made by the Government, in the Autumn of 1798, to abett the cause of the Irish insurgents, he sailed for Ireland, on board the *Anacreon*, national brig of war, which was to accompany that squadron, which landed under Humbert, at Killala, and of which the other division was defeated by Admiral Warren. The *Anacreon* was prevented from reaching the

\* Mr. Matthew Dowling, who perceiving in the bench a determined resolution to put down the public voice, manifested in the trials of the preceding day, on which 19 young men had been found guilty of seditious practices, upon slighter evidence than he conceived might be brought against his client, advised him not to submit his fate to a prejudiced bench, a trained jury and hired informers. He was afterwards attainted by act of Parliament unless he surrendered within a given period.

Irish coast, with either of the divisions; the fate of which he learnt at the post-office of the small island of Rutland off the coast of Donegal, where he landed on the 16th of September, 1798. He instantly sailed for the coast of Norway, whence he set off for Paris by land, taking his rout by the way of Hamburg. 1862.

At the time Mr. Tandy arrived in Hamburg, some other Irish subjects of his Majesty, who had, or were presumed to have been concerned in the treasonable union of 1798, were living in supposed security, under protection of that free and imperial city. On the 23d of November, 1798, Mr. Tandy, Mr. Hervey Montmoriney Morres, Mr. Blackwell, and Mr. Corbett, were arrested at the American arms inn, at Hamburg; they were confined in gaol from that time to the 1st day of October, 1799. Sir James Crawford, the British agent at Hamburg, swore in open court, that he was directed by Lord Grenville to make a requisition of the senate of Hamburg, that these four gentlemen should be arrested by the senate and confined under their authority, as rebellious subjects of his Majesty. In the mean time Bonaparte arrived from Egypt, and by the vast power of his energies, an entire change in the military proceedings of the continent took place, in favor of France. He was highly incensed at the Hamburgers' treatment of French officers. The senate of Hamburg sent special commissions to sooth his ire and mitigate the effects of his indignation: he detained

Mr. Tandy and others arrested at Hamburg.

1802. **them in Paris above a year; not did he dismiss them till he had heavily amerced their city for the insult and injury offered to the dignity of France.**

**Mr. N. Tandy involved in the capitulation of the Helder.** In the course of that unfortunate campaign in Holland, which ended in the disgraceful capitulation of the Helder, General Don had been deputed to enter the interior of that country, and to excite the natives to insurrection, against the French Government, by the circulation of hand-bills, declarations and other means of fomenting and purchasing discontent. He was taken as a spy by the French, and had of course forfeited his life by the rules of war. It would have been strange, if the Duke of York had not felt uncommon anxiety to secure the life of General Don, which he had immolated by imposing upon a British General the base function of corrupting the fidelity of the enemy, whom he could not conquer in the field. General Brune, with the generosity of a brave soldier, returned the British General, whose life had been forfeited by the laws of war, but claimed, and was promised in return, the life of French officers, whose persons had been violently and ignominiously seized, against the laws both of war and nations. In violation of national and military honor and justice, Mr. Tandy was kept in severe confinement as a

\* It was the generally believed report of that day, that there was a secret article in the capitulation of the Helder, for the liberty of General Tandy and Colonel Blackwell, (who had been naturalized in France) in return for the delivery up of General Don, who had been taken up as a spy, and had, by the

prisoner, whilst General Don was restored to his country, rank and laws. Of this perfidy General Brune, severely complained, in the council of 500. In consequence of the Hamburgers having, contrary to the laws of nations, delivered up Mr. Tandy and his associates to the British Government, the executive directory issued an arret, the preamble of which stated, that the imprisonment of citizens N. Tandy and Blackwell, naturalized Frenchmen, and attached to the service of the Republic, as likewise the imprisonment of citizens Morres and Corbett, and their deliverance into the hands of the agents of England, is an attack upon the rights of nations and a crime against humanity; a flagrant offence against the French Republic: therefore the directory ordered, that the consular and diplomatic agents, who resided at the Government of Hamburg, should forthwith leave that city and territory: that a general embargo should be laid upon all the ships and vessels carrying Hamburg colors, that were then in the ports of the Republic.\*

1802.

laws of war, forfeited his life. To this the French Papers, in October, 1799, are supposed to have referred, when they said, "that the capitulation of the Duke of York contains some "private articles, which his R. H. did not wish to submit to "the consideration of the Coffee-houses in London."

\* The Government of Hamburg was amerced in 4,000,000 marks for the insult and injury offered to the French Republic, by this atrocious violation of the laws of nations. The importance of this conduct of the Hamburgers will best appear by their address to the French Government, and Bonaparte's

1802.

Mr. Tandy  
sent from  
Hamburgh  
to Ireland.

From Hamburgh Mr. N. Tandy was transported, in close custody with Mr. Morris, to London, and thence to Ireland, where they were committed to Kilmainham gaol. On the 19th of May, 1800,

answer. They will also show the pitiful and insidious meanness of the Irish Government, in keeping out of sight every trait of the French claim upon Mr. Tandy, and falsely assuming the merit of mercy and forgiveness by permitting him to return to France.

#### Citizens Consuls,

Whatever may be the prejudices you entertain against the Magistrates of the city of Hamburgh, they, however, cannot avoid congratulating you on the late events, which have taken place at Paris. In holding the whole nation entitled to the fairest and most consolatory hopes, we may at least be allowed to share in them, and offer up our vows for their accomplishment.

You are too enlightened and too just, not to be convinced of the sincerity of our sentiments in this respect, or to doubt for a moment, that we are ever impressed with the most sensible interest in what relates to the prosperity of the French Nation. The unfortunate event of the arrest and delivery up of four Irishmen, the fatal source of a variety of misunderstandings and unjust persecutions, seemed to have irritated the directory to such a degree, that it would not even perceive how irreproachable has been the conduct we have adopted, and how characterised by the most scrupulous regard and deference for the Government of the Republic.

A fatal concatenation of circumstances does not, it is true, permit us satisfactorily to account to it for what we have done: but still every one of those circumstances proves, that it was in spite of our efforts to the contrary, and that if during a series of years, we have given the strongest proofs of attachment to the Republic, it is at least not an unpardonable fault in having in a critical and difficult case, reposed our confidence in its generosity and moderation.

they were brought up to the bar of the King's Bench in Dublin, to shew cause, why judgment of <sup>1802.</sup>

However, to the minds of just and equitable men, facts alone should speak. It is in order, that they may be generally known we take the liberty of making them known to you. We take the liberty of transmitting to you the most exact details upon the subject. Among the four men named Napper Tandy, Blackwell, Morres and Peters, there are only the two former, who can merit your attention. Morres and Peters were constantly regarded by the legation of the Republic, as the undoubted subjects of Great Britain.

In no act whatever, or by any declaration, official or not official has it been said, that the two persons named Morres and Peters, were in the service of the Republic, or belonged to them either in civil or military capacities. The Minister has not even demanded their liberty either nominally or individually. All the acts and ministerial notes are confined to demanding explicitly the liberty of the two individuals, named Napper Tandy and Blackwell.

History offers no example of a belligerent power being authorized to protect, in a neutral state, the avowed subjects of its enemy. To confer such a right, it has hitherto been necessary, that the individual should belong to such belligerent power either in a civil or military capacity.

You are too just, Citizens Consuls, and we are assured incapable of imputing it to us, as a crime, that we have delivered up two men, who incontestibly belong to another nation, and were absolutely foreigners to the republic. It is only, as to the facts, which regard the arrest of Napper Tandy and Blackwell, that we need to apply ourselves. Allow us in this place to refer to the precautions, which the wisdom of Citizen Grouvelle, Minister of the Republic, at the court of Copenhagen, judged necessary, with regard to them; a precaution which, had it been adopted by the French Legation here, would have spared us all the troubles, and all the evils, which passion, error and

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death should not be passed upon them, for not having surrendered themselves for trial on a given

prejudice have excited against us on their account. That enlightened Minister, who doubtless too highly respected the Government of Copenhagen to apprehend the least violence, thought it necessary to their safety, precariously situated as they were, and to avoid the well founded and legitimate demands of the British Government, and to withdraw them from the search and requisition of the Minister of that court, to afford them an asylum in his own house.

They arrive here, and by the most inconceivable species of folly, made use of a stratagem, by which they must have been sensible, they were sure to expose themselves. They knew, they perceived, that all French Republicans, enjoyed not only the most perfect safety in our city, but that they were even distinguished and treated with the most marked friendship. They were however regardless of what they owed to themselves, to their safety, to their situation, and to their honor, and skulked into our city secretly and like malefactors under false names and false characters. Napper Tandy took the name of Jones, and called himself a merchant of Philadelphia. Blackwell assumed that of Barthelemy Blackfurst, and also described himself as an American Merchant. The Britannic Minister officially demanded the arrest and delivering up of the two men, subjects of the King of Great Britain and named Jones and Barthelemy. It is pretty generally known, that in Germany they do not easily refuse the Ministerial demand of Foreign courts requiring the subjects of their nation. Citizen Reinhard, Minister of the Republic would have experienced the same acquiescence on our part. The officer of police first presented himself at the house of the person named Jones, and demanded his name; he said his name was Jones. Upon this acknowledgment, his arrest, as a subject of the King of Great Britain, upon the requisition of the English Minister was announced to him. He did not even then declare himself: but still persevering in his



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day, according to the act of attainder, passed on the 6th of October, 1798, by the Irish Parliament.

disguise, submitted without murmur and without any explanation or protest whatsoever to the British Government. His sword with the arms of Ireland was found upon his person. How could we doubt, after that of the undoubted truth of the assertions of the British Government. How could we suppose that an officer in the service of the Republic would wear a sword with the British arms engraved upon it. It is thus, that this man by his own confession named Jones, by his own confession a Merchant, and by incontestible facts a subject of the King of Great Britain, delivered himself up upon the requisition of the Minister of that Sovereign, and remained his prisoner.

The arrest was announced in the same manner, and with the same precaution, to the person named Barthelemy Blackfurst. It was not till after the arrest had been announced, and when he was in fact the prisoner of the Minister demanding him, that he slowly took off the mask; and wished on a sudden to pass for a French officer, without offering the least proof, that he was so. It is almost useless to observe, that if by explanations so tardy and insufficient, men may escape arrest by changing their names and qualities, they may at any time avoid those arrests, which are of the most fair and legitimate nature.

The French legation immediately claimed them as breveted officers of the republic. The Minister never thought proper to entrust us with the brevets themselves, but only gave us copies of them. It would however have been of the greatest utility, to have furnished us with the means of ascertaining and verifying to the British government their actual situation with respect to the French republic. Perhaps the Minister regarded it, as a prerogative of his post of power, to claim implicit belief to his official affirmation: but if he did so, he ought to recollect, that he justified the same pretences on the part of the British Minister. The latter had officially declared them to be the subjects of the King of Great Britain. He not only declared

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The case was argued for several days, and the court decided, that having been in custody by order of

so in the first instance, but afterwards proved it. He had officially pointed them out by the names, under which they submitted to be arrested. On Jones was found a sword with the British arms. Could we have been justified, after circumstances of so strong a nature, in refusing our entire belief to the official declaration of the British Minister, and of denying it to those of the Minister of the Republic. The Minister of England, informed of the opposition of that of the Republic, demanded their being delivered up with greater vehemence, and joining to his demand the most violent menaces, gave us every reason to apprehend the utmost resentment on the part of his government. Diplomatic characters of the highest respect and esteem maintained, that all these facts and many examples in history, militated in favour of the demands of the British government. Among the examples, which were cited, they chiefly relied upon the arrest of the famous Trenck, who, although in the service of Russia, was arrested at Dantzic, at the desire of the Prussian minister, and sent to that power as a Prussian subject: regardless at the same time of the menaces of England, and the force of these plausible arguments, we thought we could not conduct ourselves in a more satisfactory manner, than by entrusting the decision of this delicate affair to a Prince, who, united to the republic by a treaty of peace and alliance, had, as well as ourselves, a powerful interest in observing and maintaining the principles of a strict neutrality. These motives induced us to refer the affair to the decision of the King of Prussia in his quality of First Prince, director of the circle of Lower Saxony, and guarantee of the neutrality of the north of Germany, and and to the Princes Co. Directors of the Circle. It does not belong to us to analyse the motives, which prevented the King from deciding. You know, that notwithstanding our pressing solicitations, the King remained always undetermined. The Emperor of Russia at last interfered; he did not confine him-

the British Government, during the time, which the act prescribed for surrender, they were discharged,

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self to vain menaces during many months, in which our useless resistance continued. We were obliged to support the weight of the most severe hostility on the part of Russia. His squadron commanded the north seas; and, blocking up the mouth of the Elbe, took possession of our ships. From information as alarming as well founded, we apprehended, if not an effective occupation on the part of the Russian troops, at least their appearance before our gates as enemies. In the mean time, in the midst of these inquietudes, which made us regard our resistance as absolutely useless, and apprehending, that by exposing ourselves we should not succeed in saving the prisoners, we did all in our power to satisfy the French government, and nothing was omitted for obtaining the privilege of detaining the prisoners till peace. We implored the intervention of almost every power, but all our efforts were in vain.

The King of Prussia at last declared, that he would not decide on so important an affair. The unexpected refusal of so great and powerful a government, after so long and profound a silence, and at such a period too, was sufficient to augment and justify our alarms, and open our eyes to the danger of a longer resistance. The Emperor, the chief of the empire, at the same time joined his demand to those of his allies, and did not dissemble, that he expected our resistance would no longer continue, unless we wished to be forced to yield in the name of the constitutional laws of the empire. Notwithstanding all these threatening insinuations, we, however, resorted to a last attempt; and offered to solicit the Government of the Republic, that the prisoners should be exchanged for some other prisoners of rank taken from the coalesced powers: but this had no better success than any of our former endeavours. We however at that time made, and have since renewed our most pressing solicitations to the British government to mitigate the fate of the prisoners. Such are the real facts of this unfortunate event,

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though remanded to prison. Foiled in their first effort to procure a legal title to Mr. Tandy's blood,

If, Citizens Consuls, you consider without prejudice, and reflect equitably upon the line of conduct, which our delicate and greatly exposed situation obliged us to adopt, you will be easily convinced, that it was absolutely impossible, after a year's fruitless efforts, for us to persist in any longer resistance. Our ruin and entire annihilation would have been the inevitable consequence; and even without answering any purpose, as we have shewn. The only means we had of preserving ourselves, was that of trusting to the generosity of the French. We dare flatter ourselves, Citizens Consuls, that you will justify, by the return of your friendship and benevolence, that confidence, which the unmerited severity of the Directory has not entirely effaced from our souls. And we trust, that after having by your wisdom weighed every circumstance, you will not hesitate in putting a stop to the severe measures, which the Directory has taken and decreed against this city. Receive, at the same time, the homage of our respect.

Given under the common seal of our city, the 16th<sup>1</sup> December, 1799.

By the Burgomasters and Senate of the Free and Imperial City of Hamburg,

F. A. WAGNER,

Licentiate and First President.

*Bonaparte, First Consul of the Republic, to the Burgomasters and Senate of the Free and Imperial City of Hamburg.*

Paris, 9th Nivose, (8th year) 30th Dec. 1799.

Sirs,

We have received your letter. It does not justify your conduct. Courage and virtue preserve states. Cowardice and vice destroy them. You have violated the laws of hospitality. Such an event could not have happened among the most barba-

they transmitted him to Lifford, to be tried for high treason, committed in the County of Donegal, by having landed in a hostile manner, out of the Anacreon, on the island of Rutland. There was he confined for seven months before he was brought to trial. The 7th of April, 1801, was appointed for his trial, before Judge Chamberlain and Judge Fox : several applications to put it off were refused by the court, and several law arguments and objections to the proceedings over-ruled. Mr. Tandy thanked his Counsel for their ingenuity and zeal, but wished to spare the court and them any further trouble. With dignified firmness, he said, he disdained a falsehood, admitted the truth of every thing set forth in the indictment, and pleaded guilty. The Judges humanely dissuaded him from it; for that sentence of death must instantly follow. He was fully apprized, he said, of the awful sentence, which was to be passed upon him. He trusted, he was able to meet it with the resignation of a christian and the fortitude of a man. His son, Mr. James Tandy, and several of his relatives and friends were present in the court, when Mr. J.

rous hordes of the desert. Your fellow citizens must for ever reproach you. The two unfortunate men, whom you have delivered up will die illustrious. But their blood shall work more evil on the heads of their persecutors, than a whole army would have done.

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

HUGUES B. MARET, the Secretary of State.

1802. Chamberlain pronounced the dreadful sentence of the law; it was ordered to be carried into execution on the 4th of the ensuing month of May.\*

Mr. Tandy cleared. Two days after the sentence had been pronounced, Sir John Stewart, his majesty's Attorney General, received a letter from Mr. A. Marsden, dated on the 6th of April, apprizing him officially, that the Lord Lieutenant, had on that day received a letter from the Duke of Portland, stating, that his Majesty had been graciously pleased to pardon Mr. Tandy. Mr. Marsden, however, had his fears, that the letter would not have arrived in time to prevent the trial. Sir John Stewart handed it over to Mr. James Tandy, who was at his house, when it came to hand. He congratulated the son upon the security of his Father's life; but nothing was at that time either suggested or attended to, in regard to his liberation from confinement. Notwithstanding the King's pardon, shortly after Lord Harwicke had assumed the reins of government, he had issued an order for the immediate execution of Mr. N. Tandy. How far and in what manner the powers of oblivion, in so important a matter, had

\* Mr. Tandy, henceforth, was dealt with separately from his fellow prisoners. Mr. Corbett escaped out of prison in female attire, on the 12th of February, 1801. Mr. H. M. Morris, after an imprisonment of three years and seventeen days, was discharged on the 10th December, 1801, when the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act had expired, upon giving bail for keeping the peace for seven years. Mr. Blackwell was discharged at the same time, but refused to give any bail.

operated upon Sir John Stewart and Mr. Marsden, in so short a space of time, is incomprehensible. When Mr. James Tandy naturally referred to the King's pardon, he was reviled and threatened with a state prosecution, for having dared to set up a fictitious pardon. Great however was the confusion on production of the original letter. Mr. Marsden had not the hardihood to deny his own hand writing. Mr. James Tandy threatened to give every notoriety to their insidious attempt to spill his father's blood, after the King had pardoned him. A cabinet council was convened, and the order for execution was instantly recalled. Base and incredible were the shifts, subterfuges and fabrications, to which that weak Government resorted, in order to keep out of sight the effect of Bonaparte's having reclaimed Mr. Tandy as a French General, and General Brune's having in consequence of the Duke of York's promise, to render it available, delivered up General Don, who had forfeited his life as a spy. An official proposal was opened to Mr. James Tandy, that his father should be transported to Botany Bay, which was indignantly rejected. On which *alluring offers and vindictive threats, were alternately held out to him, to induce his father to a voluntary transportation, and in case of his non-compliance, the everlasting vengeance and resentment of Government were emphatically pronounced against the son.*

\* Vide Mr. James Tandy's appeal to the public, dedicated to the Prince of Wales, 2d edition, Dublin, 1807, which unfolds a tale almost as incredible as inhuman.

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Base at-  
tempt at  
Mr. Tandy's  
life.

As Mr. James Tandy was inexorable to their demands of transporting his father to Botany Bay, with common felons, and defied them to execute sentence of death after his Majesty's pardon, Sir John Stewart so far let down the dignity of his high office, as to admit, that it had not been in contemplation of Lord Cornwallis' administration to transport him to Botany Bay; but that he might thank his own diabolical conduct for the measures he had obliged Lord Hardwicke's Government to adopt towards him. He then stated "that Mr. Tandy's conduct, since he had been confined in Lifford prison, was such, in broaching the most horrid doctrines, so as to raise a degree of rebellion and disaffection in the North of Ireland. That the Judges, who went the last north-west circuit, were obliged to give an official report to Government, on that subject; which had obliged Lord Harwicke to *come to the fixed and final determination of sending him to Botany Bay.* That it was within his (Sir John Stewart's) own knowledge; and the Judges were obliged to make that report, after a mature and strict investigation.\*" Those Judges, (*Finucane and Day,*) when called upon to recognize the report, as men of honor, refused to lend their names to so foul a conspiracy, and declared it to be an entire fabrication and falsehood. They had made no such report: had received no complaint against Mr. Tandy's conduct, whilst confined in Lifford:

\* Vide Mr. James Tandy's appeal to the public, p. 108.



they had on the contrary heard, that he had conducted himself there with the most exemplary propriety. Detected in that base attempt to cover their own deception under the forged acts of upright men, they pitifully returned to lure and supplication. If Mr. James Tandy would not persevere in his opposition to the intentions, wishes, and determination of men high in power, he might look forward to their countenance and favor; in a word, if he would consent to his father's being sent off to Botany Bay, (they entirely disregarded Mr. N. Tandy's acquiescence,) he would make staunch friends instead of inveterate enemies. They ran rapidly through all degrees of concession, recantation and accommodation; but they appeared supereminently anxious to prevent Mr. James Tandy from communicating with Lord Cornwallis, then at Amiens, to whom he begged leave to write, which was refused.

Mr. Secretary Abbott sent for Mr. James Tandy to disclaim and contradict Sir John Stewart's tale of the Judges' report. "He had it in command from his Excellency, to acquaint him (Mr. James Tandy) that it was not in any respect owing to the subsequent conduct of Mr. Tandy, that his Excellency was induced to come to the fixed and final determination of transporting him to Botany Bay." On Mr. James Tandy's observing, that what the Attorney General had said, must then have been an utter fabrication, Mr. Abbott replied, "Sir, I know nothing of the Attorney General, I

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Con-  
trivance of  
Govern-  
ment  
against  
Mr. Tandy.

1802. **Few legislative acts of importance, affecting Ire-**  
 Irish finan- **land, were passed in the first session of the Imperial**  
 ces and Mr. **parliament, during the viceroyalty of Lord Hard-**  
 Foster. **wicke. The most interesting of all the debates**

Brune and in smothering a forced submission to the demands of the enemy, under the semblance of lenity and reality of the unjust persecution of British subjects. The reception, which Mr. Tandy met on his landing at Bourdeaux, shows, that France never lost sight of the reclamation of their General. He was hailed with military honors, the whole town was illuminated, and he was promoted from the rank of General of Brigade, to that of General of Division. Mr. J. Tandy asserts positively, (page 119) that through a communication from Monsieur Otto the French Minister in London, whilst his Father was in Wicklow Gaol, Bonaparte had sent directions to his Brother Joseph, not to sign the treaty of peace till General Tandy should have been first restored to the bosom of France. In fact he landed at Bourdeaux on the 14th and the definitive treaty was signed on the 27th of March, 1802. Mr. James Tandy was also assured of that circumstance by General Matthieu, commanding the southern district, when after the peace he went to see his Father in Bourdeaux.

The true grounds of General Tandy's pardon and liberation appear also from a letter, which that Gentleman thought proper to write to Lord Pelham, on the 30th of Nivose, 1803, from Bourdeaux. It had come to his ears, that in a debate on the malt bill in the house of Peers in England, that Noble Lord as well as Lord Spencer had asserted, that Mr. Tandy owed his life to the useful informations and discoveries he had given to the British Government, which he declared to be a mean and audacious falsehood. He then continues. "Had you been content with saying, that  
 "there were particular circumstances in my case, you would  
 "not have swerved from the truth, for you know all, although  
 "you have suffered only a part to appear. With respect to  
 "my life, I never thought I owed any gratitude to your Govern-

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were upon the state of the Irish finances. Mr. Corry, the Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, stated in detail, that the whole amount of the separate charges for Ireland for the services of the current year, was £3,298,555, and the joint charge borne by Ireland and Great Britain for the like services, amounted to £4,129,000; so that the entire charge of Ireland to be provided for in the year amounted to £7,428,425. Mr. Foster, who had for so many years, jointly with Lord Clare and Mr. Beresford, monopolized and managed the political and fiscal powers of Ireland, contradicted the statements of Mr. Corry. Mr. Pitt's firmness in not submitting to the exorbitancy of Mr. Foster's terms for supporting the Union, when he found it could be carried without it, had driven Mr. Foster into a resentful opposition to that system, which

“ ment for it. I owed my life to the great and generous  
 “ people to the first of men, to the hero, the pacificator, who  
 “ said, that if I fell, I should fall with eternal lustre. It is  
 “ for the cause of that people that I am ready to shed the last  
 “ drop of my blood. I can recapitulate with satisfaction my  
 “ past life, spent in the service of my country; whilst I look  
 “ with pity and contempt upon those, who by prostituting  
 “ themselves, have been raised to the first offices of the state.  
 “ I am more proud of the name of *French Citizen*, than  
 “ that of the rank of a titled slave. I am, my Lord, with the  
 “ same sentiments I have always entertained and cherished, long  
 “ before I knew you a petty Secretary of the Castle of Dublin,  
 “ a friend of universal benevolence, and an enemy of those only,  
 “ who built their fortune upon the ruin of their country.”

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he had spent the vigor of his political career in forwarding. It was with regret, he said, he found himself under the necessity of differing from the Right Honorable Gentleman with respect to many of his most important statements. Mr. Wickham sorely complained, that Mr. Foster, to suit the purpose of his argument for the moment, either praised or blamed the officers, who made up the accounts of the finances of Ireland, the same persons becoming the objects of his panegyric or censure, as best suited his observation or humour. Mr. Foster insisted, that he had neither said nor done any thing, but what an upright member of parliament was called upon to do. This was new language from the mouth of Mr. Foster. The most material and instructive observations, that fell from him on that occasion, were: That although it had been acknowledged, that the expenses of the current year would be considerably less, than they had been in the preceding year, yet a million more was borrowed for the present than for the last year. The inference to be drawn from that measure, (for various union purposes) was too obvious to be mentioned. The revenue was then collected at a much lighter rate of expense, than it had been in 1782, when it was at 11*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* per cent. The revenues of the Post-office were, at the time he was speaking, collected at the enormous expenditure of 224*l.* per cent. In 1800, the amount of grants, pensions, &c. on that score, was 34,000*l.*; in 1802, 51,000*l.*; and

that encrease of 17,000*l.* was in a falling year. In 1801, the decrease of exported linen was 5,000,000 yards. Mr. Wickham officially arraigned Mr. Foster of wilfully making false assertions, and highly panygerized the judicious efforts of his predecessor in office to economize in the collection of the revenue: the fruits of which there had not then been time to reap. 1802.

The Parliament \* having been prorogued to the 17th of August, his Majesty issued a proclamation on the 29th of June for dissolving the present and calling a new Parliament. The business of elections of course took up a considerable part of the summer. Mr. Addington affected to have taken the singular resolution of using no ministerial influence or Treasury interference in the elections. The election for Dublin displayed a new scene of internal politics, in consequence of the Union. The late Members for that city, Messrs. Ogle and J. C. Beresford, were put into nomination by Charles Ward, and the nomination of Mr. Ogle was sup- Dissolution of Parliament.

\* The warmest and most interesting debates of this session, were not upon Irish objects: but upon the payment of the arrears of the civil list, which amounted to about one million. On Mr. Nicholl's motion of thanks to his Majesty for dismissing Mr. Pitt from his councils: on the vote of thanks from the House of Commons to Mr. Pitt for his eminent services, and upon the definitive treaty of peace. The changes in the French government, viz. the voting of Bonaparte the Chief Consul, first for ten years and then for life, were also strongly noticed.

1802. reported by the Lord Mayor. John Latouche, jun. Esq. was put up by William Colville, and Sir Jonah (then Mr.) Barrington, was proposed by Mr. Grattan, and the motion was seconded by Mr. George Ponsonby; who took this opportunity of complimenting the public spirit, independent conduct, and political purity of Sir Jonah Barrington; notwithstanding, the Union had been the only great political question, on which that Gentleman had not opposed Mr. Grattan and Mr. G. Ponsonby, and their political friends. The shew of hands was declared, as upon the poll it turned out, to be in favor of Messrs. Beresford and La Touche\*. Whether or no, it were with a view of forwarding the interests of the late members of the city, who were prominent Orangemen, or from other accidental motive, it so happened, that the anniversary commemoration of the battle of Aughrim, on the 12th of July, was this year so-

\* When Mr. Grattan presented himself to vote for Sir Jonah Barrington, Mr. Giffard objected to his competency, as having been disfranchised by the Corporation of Dublin in 1798. The rival Candidates disclaimed any wish to avail themselves of such an illiberal advantage. Mr. Grattan's competency was however established, inasmuch, as the act of his disfranchisement was not recorded in the original Hall, and his name still stood on the records of the Town Clerks' office. Before Mr. Grattan voted, he thus forcibly expressed his feelings on Mr. Giffard's objection; to which no reply was attempted by the objector, or any of his Orange associates. "The objection comes from the hired traducer of his country: the excommunicated of his fellow-citizens, the unpunished ruffian, the bigotted agitator, the regal rebel. In the city a firebrand: in the court a liar; in the street a bully: and in the field a coward."

lemnized with more than its ordinary pomp. The statue of King William, in College-green, was most superbly decorated with Orange colours, and several corps of yeomanry paraded round it in the course of the day. In the evening, the conduct of the yeomanry, and the spirit of this ill-judged and mischievous commemoration, so worked on the popular feelings, that the most serious consequences were apprehended. Mr. Alderman Stamer failed in his endeavours to prevent outrages; some yeomen were beaten to the ground. Major Swani was knocked down and severely wounded: nor was the mob dispersed, until Alderman Darley arrived with a large party of the Castle guard. Some (perhaps the less guilty) of the populace were taken and severely punished. Attempts were made to raise this expression of popular soreness into a general spirit of disaffection, and a renovation of rebellion. Nothing however could be traced beyond the temporary and local outrage upon the popular feeling, from this senseless annual ovation of the ascendancy, lately rendered more poignantly degrading by the ferocity and growing power of the Orange societies.

When Ireland had scarcely rallied from the convulsive effects of the late political disturbances, and the pressure of the last years scarcity, it was to be expected, that discontent, the sure concomitant of misery, should show itself in the conduct of many of the sufferers. With much address and perseverance had the fairest promises been made of encreasing

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Causes of  
internal  
discontent.

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prosperity and happiness to the people from legislative Union, and a deluded people naturally laid every new pressure and hardship to the account of their disappointment. The crops of the year 1802 had a promising appearance, but till reaped, gave no relief to a starving peasantry from the deficiencies of the preceding year. The real scarcity enhanced the price of necessities, to all, and at the same time curtailed the means of employing labourers, which drove many of the lower orders from their usual residence, in search of the means of acquiring a bare subsistence. These emigrants in search of labour encreased the embarrassment wherever they arrived; and self-preservation dictated the resistance, as well as the application for labour. In some of the Southern counties, such as Tipperary, Waterford and Limerick, which were considered to have suffered the least from the late scarcity, and to be in the capacity of employing the greatest number of hands in agriculture, determinations were entered into by different parishes and districts, to employ no strangers, but to divide the whole labour of their parishes and districts among their own labourers; thus preventing the encrease of their own sufferings by opposing the influx of more distressed strangers, who would help to consume and reduce the means of earning a share of that scanty store, upon which they hardly subsisted. The controul and management of this natural economy, dictated by the exigency of circumstances the inhabitants took into their own hands. And it frequently happened, that force became necessary



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to repel the pressing influx of starving adventurers for food and labour. Despair on behalf of the emigrant intruders, and self defence on behalf of the native residents, produced contests and breaches of the law, which the magistrates could not prevent. Too many of them rejoiced in the opportunity of resuming their former severity, and treated these contests, about employing labourers from other districts, as political disturbances, and represented them as such at the Castle, in the hopes of having the counties proclaimed. Out of this unfortunate and unavoidable source of discontent, naturally flowed several illegal consequences, which called for the prudent interference of the Magistrates. Lord Hardwicke declined resorting to martial law, convinced, that the tranquillity of these counties had not been broken in upon by any tendency to insurrection, he trusted that the law of the land and the return of plenty, would remedy the evil, and he resolved to make a tour through the most disturbed parts of them.

His Excellency in company of Lord Kilwarden, Lord Royston, Lord Lindsay and Colonel Littlehales visited some of the principal Noblemen and Gentlemen, as he traversed the counties of Tipperary and Limerick. At Limerick, several addresses were presented to him from the Merchants, the Mayor, Sheriff and Citizens, the Clergy and the County, to each of which he gave appropriate answers, and each of his answers became a new profession, that conciliation was intended to be the leading feature

Viceregal  
Tour.

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of his Government.\* He returned to Dublin about Michaelmas, highly gratified with the flattering expressions he had every where received of the mildness of his Government. In order to subject more immediately to the inspection of Government, the real situation of the disturbed countries, Mr. Wickham made also a tour into Munster in the month of October. He gave out, that his visit to Cork, was to put in train some arrangements for the commercial interests of Ireland. No measure of that tendency however followed.

Parliament  
meets. Mr.  
Abbot re-  
elected  
Speaker.

The first session of the new Imperial Parliament was opened on the 16th of November, by a speech from the Throne, which particularly noticed the loyalty and attachment of all ranks of persons to his Majesty's person and Government. His Majesty contemplated with the utmost satisfaction the great and encreasing benefits produced by that important

\* In his answer to the County of Limerick's address, he said. " If in the administration of his Majesty's Government, I have been in any degree instrumental in healing those distractions, which so lately prevailed, I shall feel particularly gratified, and you may rely upon a continuance of my best endeavours to promote an object, essential to the improvement of those advantages, by which the country is particularly favoured, and confident I am, from past experience of your partial interpretation of my public conduct, I shall persevere with the same sincerity and zeal in endeavouring to merit the approbation of those, who feel like you, an interest in the peace and welfare of their country." Query, were these expressions were intended by his Excellency to refer to the great and vital question of emancipation?

1802.  


measure, which had united the interests, and consolidated the resources of Great Britain and Ireland. And he recommended, that the improvement and extension of those advantages should be objects of their unremitting care and attention. The speech had no further reference to Ireland. Mr. Abbott, the late speaker of the house of commons, was proposed by Sir William Scott, and re-elected without opposition. In the debate on the address to the throne, Mr. Fox observed, that there was an expression in the speech, which was of course echoed in the address, relative to the advantages, which had been derived from the Union with Ireland. If he were inclined to cavil, he might object to that expression, but he should not object to the address on that account. Whatever his opinions might have been with regard to the Union with Ireland, that event having taken place, he wished it might be attended with every possible success. Lord Hawkesbury, referring to Mr. Pitt, who was absent from indisposition, took an opportunity of expressing his opinion, that the necessity of emancipating Ireland was the sole cause of Mr. Pitt's secession. The new Ministers, both wished and professed to think and act with Mr. Pitt on every other question, and Mr. Pitt pledged himself never to oppose their resistance of that question. "With regard to that event, I know," said Lord Hawkesbury, "that no motive did actuate him in quitting Government, but a sense of what he thought a superior duty; a matter of opinion on a great and important

1801. "question." No other Member even obliquely touched upon Ireland in this important debate: it turned upon the probability of peace or war. Lord Whitworth was, in the mean time, sent Ambassador to Paris; yet rumours and alarms of war became prevalent, though Ministers kept themselves much on the reserve, whenever that topic was referred to.

Colonel  
Despard's  
conspiracy.

Three days before the meeting of Parliament, London was thrown into considerable agitation by the apprehension of Colonel Edward Marcus Despard with 29 labouring men and soldiers, at a low public house, called the Oakley arms in Lambeth,\* upon the information of a soldier. They were charged with high treason for conspiring to compass the death of the King. It was at the time given out and the report was countenanced by Government, that Colonel Despard was an agent in the pay of the French Government. No evidence of it came out on the trial. The plot was at first magnified into an extensive and deeply laid conspiracy to murder the whole of the Royal Family, and all the Ministers and the Public Officers on the same day, and totally to subvert the Government, and form a complete revolution. After every effort to get at the bottom of this wretched and desperate conspiracy, not a

\* In as much as Colonel Despard was himself an Irishman, and some of the unfortunate accomplices in this desperate attempt bore Irish names, and their engagement appeared to bear some analogy to the obligation of the United Irishmen, it is considered proper to notice it in this history.

single individual was found to be concerned in it, beyond the wretched band of 29, who were arrested, of whom 10 were common soldiers, and the remainder artificers of the lowest cast, whom that unfortunate man had used his influence upon in seducing to his desperate purposes. When they were taken, there was found upon one of them a printed paper to the following purport. "*Constitution*. The independence of Great Britain and Ireland—equality of civil and religious rights—an ample provision for the families of the heroes, who shall fall in the contest, and a liberal reward for distinguished merit. These are the objects, for which we contend, and to obtain which we have united."

"In the awful presence of Almighty God, I, The obligation.  
A. B. do solemnly declare to unite in the above objects, and to use every means in my power to recover those rights, which the supreme being in his infinite bounty has granted to all men, and I further pledge myself, that neither hopes, rewards, fears or punishments shall induce me to give evidence against this or any similar Society. So help me God."

Ten out of the thirty, who were arrested at the Oakely arms were indicted, tried before Lord Ellenborough, and found guilty of having traitorously conspired against his Majesty's person, crown and government, for the purpose of subverting the same and changing the Government of the Realm. Seven of them Trial of the conspirators.

1802.

were executed, viz. Edward Marcus Despard,\* Thomas Broughton, John Wood, John Francis, John

\* This unfortunate gentleman was the sixth son of a respectable family in the Queens County; he was born in the year, 1750. In 1766 he entered the 50th Regiment, and afterwards obtained a company in the 79th Regiment. He was an excellent officer and received distinguished marks of approbation from Generals Calcraft, Meadows and the Duke of Northumberland. In 1799 he was appointed chief engineer to the St. Juan expedition, and was particularly thanked by the Commander of that expedition. He was also thanked by the council and assembly of Jamaica, for the erection of public works, and other good services in that Island, and was appointed by the Governor of Jamaica, to be commander in chief of the Island of Rattan and its dependencies, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and Field Engineer. As such he commanded in the Spanish main, on the Mosquito shore, and the bay of Honduras. He performed several signal services on that coast, for which he was thanked by the King. He was promoted to the rank of Colonel in 1783, and appointed superintendant to his Majesty's affairs on the bay of Honduras, in which situation he obtained some important privileges from the Crown of Spain. A party of the natives lodged complaints against him to our Ministers; he came home, and demanded an investigation into his conduct. That satisfaction the Ministers refused; assuring him that there was no charge against him worth investigating. They abolished the office of superintendant, and promised him, that his good services should be rewarded. He was, however, totally forgotten or neglected. Hence his mind was soured and he became disposed to insurrection. He was thenceforth a suspected man, and about the beginning of the French revolution was confined for several weeks without any reason assigned. Colonel Despard was again imprisoned in 1798, upon suspicion, and repeatedly demanded a trial, which was constantly refused. On the expiration of the suspension act, he persisted in refusing

Sedgewicke Wratten, Arthur Graham, and John Macnamara. Three of them, Thomas Newman, Daniel Tyndale and William Lander having been recommended by the Jury to mercy, were respited during his Majesty's pleasure. 1802.

The spirit of turbulence, which had shown itself in some parts of the south, rather increased than Disturbances in the S.  
put down.

to give bail for his appearance, and was at length unconditionally released, as he could no longer be kept in custody, without a legal investigation of the charge brought against him.

On the 21st of December, 1798, on the 2d reading of the bill, for removing the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act, Mr. Courtney in debate read the following letter to the house, which was written by Mrs. Despard, and is one of the many illustrative proofs of the mischiefs of extending the miseries and torments of the prison beyond the legal and constitutional severity of safe custody. "Some mention having been made in Newspaper reports of the house of commons, relative to the treatment of Colonel Despard in the new prison, I think it necessary to state, that he was confined near 7 months in a dark cell, not 7 feet square, without fire or candle, chair, table, knife, fork a glazed window, or even a book. I made several applications in person to Mr. Wickham, and by letter to the Duke of Portland; all to no purpose. The 20th of last month he was removed into a room with fire: but not till his feet were ulcerated by a frost. For the truth of this statement, I appeal to the Hon. Mr. Lawless and John Reeves, Esq. who visited him in prison, and at whose intercession he was removed. The Jailer will bear witness, that he never made any complaint of his treatment, however severe it was. This statement of facts is without the knowledge of the Colonel, who has served his Majesty 30 years, and all his family are now in the army." (Signed)

Catherine Despard.  
Berkely-square.

1802.

abated. Like all popular discontent and confusion, it afforded a pretext, and the means to the most disorderly of the community of perpetrating crimes with more facility and under greater confidence of impunity. By the judicious exertions of Lord Donoughmore, whose seat (Knocklofty) is on the borders of the Counties of Waterford and Tipperary, tranquillity was nearly restored throughout that part of the country; and in order to obtain the most satisfactory information concerning the origin, nature and tendency of the disturbances in the County of Limerick, Mr. Wickham with his Under-Secretary, Mr. Flint, and the Solicitor General went to Limerick, and there opened a sort of Court of enquiry, where an address to the Lord Lieutenant, signed by several of the principal gentry of the county was presented to them by Colonels Odell and Vereker, imploring the proclamation of martial law, and an encrease of troops, as the only means of putting down the disturbances. Providentially Mr. Secretary Wickham recommended it to them to rest satisfied with the ordinary powers of the common law, until the result of the special commission, which had been sent to Waterford and Clonmell should have been ascertained. Urgent applications, from a numerous set of those Magistrates of Tipperary, who had exercised such wanton cruelties upon the people under the reign of terror, had been made to the Castle of Dublin, for having their County again proclaimed under the insurrection act. The sound councils of Lord



Donoughmore prevailed ; and a special commission issued to Mr. Justice Downes and Mr. Baron George to try the defaulters at \* Waterford and Clonmell. Mr. Baron George in his address to the Grand Jury at Clonmell, and also to the prisoners before he passed sentence upon them, minutely described the peculiarity of the circumstances, which had created the necessity of that special commission, in which there was not a shade of *political* turbulence. “ In  
“ the present case, the crime of burglary (said he)  
“ at all times punishable with death, was aggravated  
“ by some peculiar circumstances. A spirit of  
“ opposition to the laws and of contempt to the magistrates had produced a wicked and ruinous  
“ species of combination among a considerable  
“ portion of the peasantry of this, and some of the  
“ adjoining counties ; and it was in furtherance of  
“ this destructive system, that the prisoners attacked  
“ the houses with an evident intention of destroying  
“ the properties, and of at least abusing the persons  
“ of honest, peaceable and loyal men, from whom  
“ they had never received an injury, or probably an  
“ insult ; thus at once outraging the ordinances of  
“ their God, and the laws of their country.”

\* It was remarkable, that the 6 criminals at Waterford and 13 who were convicted at Clonmell, were all committed by Lord Donoughmore, to whose indefatigable and judicious exertions, the country owed its salvation from a fresh insurrection, into which those disturbances would soon have been raised by the Terrorists.

1803:  
*Wm*

1803.

Successful  
exertions  
of Lord  
Donough-  
more to  
keep the  
peace.

The spirited and laudable example of Lord Donoughmore, by whose individual exertions tranquillity had been restored to the disturbed parts of Tipperary and Waterford, was fortunately followed by the Magistrates of the county of Limerick: and by their steady exertions tranquillity and subordination to the laws were completely restored throughout the disturbed parts of that county. Beyond the local effects of village contests, about the exclusion of strangers (mostly Kerry-men) from labour, the disturbances in Limerick had been worked up into more serious combinations, than they had been in Waterford or Tipperary. In the beginning of the month of January, a body of thirty of the malcontents attacked the house of Colonel Bouchier, who providentially spent that night in Limerick, with the supposed intent of murdering him, and his servant; the latter they most inhumanly cut with knives and cutlasses. They carried six horses from his stables: but committed no other outrage, although Mrs. Bouchier and her children and some visitors were in the house. Some men were also, about the same time, detected in a forge, in the act of forming pike heads. Such, however, was the efficacy of a vigilant, active, and impartial execution of the legal powers of the Magistrate, that peace and order instantly returned. Mr. Wickham was thereby enabled, when he went to attend his duty in the Imperial Parliament, to report faithfully, that the late partial disturbances in some districts

of the South of Ireland, wore nothing of a political aspect; and were wholly confined to outrages arising out of local jealousies and prejudices, the original cause of which had ceased in the exuberant harvests, with which Providence had blest the country: and that the disorders, into which they had sworn, had been completely remedied by the judicious application of the common law of the land.

The meeting of the new Parliament disclosed more of the manoeuvres of the late mysterious resignations. Every motion, conversation and debate in either House, (provided they related not to Ireland), manifestly demonstrated, that the late Cabinet had split upon the question of war, and not upon that of Irish emancipation. Peace, however equivocal, had been concluded; and the hour of resumption, in the judgment of the seceders, had made them cast off the long fading colour of dissimulation. Lords Grenville, Spencer, Carlisle, and others in the Lords; Messrs. Wyndham, Canning, Elliott, and other seceders in the Commons, flew into not only an open and systematic, but a contemptuous and rancorous opposition to all the measures of the Minister. They derided his intercourse with Bonaparte, and all his foreign relations; they derided the finances and resources of the country, and opposed his attempts at reform, even to the abetting of flagrant abuses in the naval and other departments of Government.

1802.

State of  
parties in  
the new  
parliament

1808.

Ireland alone remained unassailed. Mr. Addington still clung by the hope of Mr. Pitt's return to the Cabinet, by which alone he could expect to remain in the ministry. Mr. Pitt held himself aloof, and prolonged his absence from Parliament much longer, than the nature of his slight complaint required. Yet he still continued his assurances to Mr. Addington in private, and was courted by both parties. Lord Melville had followed the reserved example of Mr. Pitt: and they both felt the hour of resumption to have arrived. His Lordship took in hand a negociation for Mr. Pitt's return to power with himself and some other friends. It broke off upon Mr. Pitt's immoveably insisting upon the return of Lord Grenville, and several others to office, who were less agreeable to the King, than Mr. Pitt himself. Neither Mr. Pitt nor Lord Melville had hitherto publicly opposed the general system, or any particular measures of the Ministers: whereas all the other seceders, whose return was insisted upon by Mr. Pitt, had openly reprobated every measure of Government even with personal contumely and contempt. The plan of resumption failed; and very shortly after Mr. Pitt carried the whole weight of his personal talents into an open and virulent opposition to Mr. Addington's administration; although up to the month of April every measure of that imbecile Administration had received his public support and approbation. The Irish reader will with astonishment contemplate this unaccountable moment of coalition between

Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville, to force themselves back upon the Councils of the Sovereign, from which they had affected to retire, because his royal conscience would not permit him to save the empire by emancipating his Catholic Irish subjects: as if that vital question stood more in the way of the retention, than the resumption of their official situations.

1803.  
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So unpromising were the negotiations for peace, Preparations for war. so unsatisfactory the accounts from Lord Whitworth of the conduct of the First Consul, so alarming the general state of the nation, that Ireland, as well as other parts of the empire, adopted the impressions excited by the general embarrassments of the nation. After the King's message had been delivered \* to both Houses of Parliament, announcing the warlike preparations of the French Government, and recommending consequent measures of precaution and counter preparation, the lawyers and several of the yeomanry corps in Ireland came forward to express their readiness and determination to appear in arms, to oppose all attacks of the enemies of their country, whether foreign or domestic. In all the public preparatory measures of defence, Ireland bore her share. When Mr. Wickham proposed to insert a clause in the Irish † Militia Bill, authorizing the Lord Lieutenant to raise militia

\* On the 8th of March.

† A proclamation for calling out the militia issued from his Excellency on 15th March, 1803.

1802.

men at four guineas bounty, in consequence of the difficulty experienced in getting them by ballot; Mr. Elliott opposed it vehemently, as well as Mr. Windham, not only upon the grounds of their general disapprobation of the system and principles of the militia forces altogether, but of such excessive bounties impeding the general recruiting of the army, when 40,000 men were to be immediately raised. These two gentlemen had been Secretaries of War for England and Ireland under the late Administration. Mr. Elliott † had himself brought in a bill for recruiting the Irish militia at six guineas. And whilst Mr. Windham was in office, the English militia had been greatly augmented; and the militia, both of Ireland and Scotland, had been instituted. § In the debates upon the Irish militia bill, which was for raising 8000 men, several of the ministerial members, not remarkable for their tender regards to the credit or

† He was reminded of it in debate by the Irish Attorney General, Sir John Stewart.

§ The political inconsistency of these two Gentlemen, as well as that of their resigning friends, is an instructive lesson upon the revolting doctrine, now for the first time introduced by Mr. Pitt, and adopted by his co-seceders, that men, not measures are to be supported. Thus Mr. Pitt, for more than twelve months, supported the measures of the men, whom he contemned, and at last opposed; and the other seceders gave the most determined opposition to the same measures carried on by Mr. Addington, to which they had lent their most zealous support, when proposed by Mr. Pitt. Their whole art could not disguise the juggle of secession.

happiness of Ireland, made honorable mention of the loyalty and prowess of the Irish militia. Mr. Yorke in particular observed, that the rebellion of 1798, had been put down by the militia of Ireland, who had in that struggle encountered difficulties equal to any, that any other troops in the world had to contend with. Mr. Addington however observed in that debate; that the men "who were eager to serve in the militia, were on the contrary disinclined to the service of the regiments of the line. For when the militia of Ireland was lately disbanded, few, in comparison, of the militia men had entered the regular service, although the recruiting for that service were otherwise going on with great success.\*"

1802.

\* Mr. Addington did not perhaps reflect, that the greater part of the Irish Militia-men were Catholics, and that although they might legally serve their king and country, and practise their religion in Ireland; to which the militia service is confined, yet when they entered the line, they exposed themselves to all the penalties and disabilities of a most severe code of English law for entering into the service, and became liable to the corporal punishments of the articles of war, for abstaining from the Protestant or attending their own worship. No wonder then, that they should be disinclined to serve under disability, punishment, and mistrust.

In the latter end of July, 1803, it occurred to the author, that having lately declared war against a most powerful enemy, there was an imperious call for the concentrated energies of the empire, and that it was a proper occasion to reconcile the hearts, as well as to secure the arms of that hardy and valiant part of the united kingdom, who, being mostly Catholics, were by law disabled and made punishable for serving his Majesty in any

1801.

Parliamentary proceedings respecting Ireland.

The alarming crisis of public affairs kept the Parliament sitting to a very late period. The

other part of the British Empire, than Ireland; he accordingly prepared and submitted to about a score of the chief English and Irish Catholics, who were then in London and met at Lord Kenmare's house, the draft of an address, which they approved of, and agreed should be first sent to the Minister, to know whether it would be agreeable to his Majesty, that it should be presented.

Two of the gentlemen present accordingly carried to Lord Pelham, the following address :

*To the King's most Excellent Majesty.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

We, the undersigned, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, professing the Roman Catholic religion, humbly presume to approach your Majesty on the renovation of hostilities with a most dangerous enemy, in full confidence, that our utmost exertions in the common cause of the British empire, will be graciously received by the common father of his people.

We give place, Sire, to none of your Majesty's subjects in fidelity and loyalty to our sovereign. Experience has proved our unvarying attachment to the illustrious house of Brunswick, and we entreat leave to assure your Majesty, that our gratitude has, throughout a reign of general mildness and benevolence, constantly kept pace with the favours, indulgences, and concessions granted to your Roman Catholic subjects.

But, may it please your Majesty, *we cannot dissemble how much our zeal is counteracted*, and, as we humbly conceive, the good of your Majesty's service is impeded, in consequence of the laws and provisions, by which persons receiving under your Majesty's grant, any pay, salary, or wages, in your Majesty's service, (except under certain limitations, within the jurisdiction of the late parliament of Ireland,) are rendered liable to for-



armaments and hostile movements of France, the haughty tone and conduct of the first Consul to

1802.

feitures, disabilities, and incapacities, unless they conform to certain conditions, utterly repugnant to the profession of religion, made by us in the oath lately prescribed by the legislature, as the test of our allegiance to your Majesty.

Without presuming to suggest limits, modes, or times to your Majesty's royal will and pleasure, we humbly conceive the present awful crisis of public affairs imperiously calls for the assistance of every arm, that can be raised in defence of our King and Country, and we *confidently* look to the moment, *as not far distant*, in which our utmost zeal and exertions for your Majesty's person and government, and for the welfare of our country, may be brought into full action, by our admission to an equal participation of all the rights and benefits of the constitution.

So may your Majesty long enjoy and transmit to your latest posterity a crown secured in the affections, and supported by the cordial and unchecked energies of an united, happy, and grateful people.

Lord Pelham found the address highly proper and seasonable; he would, however, consult his colleagues, and give his answer on the next day, when it was returned with some alterations. The words in italics in the address were altered with red ink. With these suggested alterations; it was intimated, that his Majesty would be ready to receive the address. The gentlemen, however, who had signed it, were unanimous, that as they were not even allowed to express their hopes for relief, it would be improper to present any address. There was not one dissenting voice amongst those, who met, either as to the propriety or the substance or the time of presenting the address. The original copy sent back by Lord Pelham, is in the author's possession; the first was an alteration without a difference. The words in italics in the third paragraph were erased and the following inserted; *feel it incumbent upon us, to represent to your Majesty, that our zeal is materially counteracted*; the words

1802.

our Ambassador, and his return from Paris, afforded fuel to the many heated debates upon the improvidence of the treaty of Amiens, our violation of it by the retention of Malta; the necessary preparations for recommencing hostilities, and the total incapacity of the Ministers to steer the vessel of state through the gathering storm and dangers. Ireland, sometimes incidently, at others directly, occupied the attention of the Senate. Several acts of internal regulation for Ireland were passed; such were the act to prevent revenue officers from voting at elections for Members of Parliament, in Ireland; the act to prevent cutting and wounding in Ireland, in correspondence with Lord Ellingborough's act for England; the act to prevent vexatious suits before the supreme courts in Ireland, and for compensating losses, which would be suffered in consequence of the Irish Law-court act; the Irish Stamp act; the Irish Bank\* restriction act; the Irish Postage act; the Irish Parsonage House act;† the

*confidently and not far distant, are stricken out; the word so, was also obliterated, as if it imported a conditional with only. Vide Historical Letter to Sir Richard Musgrave, by the Author.*

\* It appeared, that by the improvident use of their discretion, the Irish Bank Directors had issued so much paper, that it became depreciated in an alarming degree; and that the exchange against Ireland had risen to an unprecedented rate. In 1797 the amount of the paper circulation of Ireland was only 621,000*l.*; in 1803 it appeared by the documents before Parliament, it was 2,600,000*l.*

† When the house of commons was in a committee upon that bill, Mr. Wickham replied to an Irish Member, who hoped that the unroofed churches would be rendered fit for divine

1802.  
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Army of Reserve act, by which 10,000 men were to be raised for Ireland, and 40,000 for Great Britain; and the General Defence act.† Mr. Corry in bringing forward the supplies for the year, stated, that the total of the joint and separate charges to be born by Ireland, amounted to 6,478,000*l.* to meet which there were 5,616,000*l.* leaving a *deficit* of about half a million; to make up which he proposed a loan of 1,000,000*l.* to be raised in

1802.  
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scissors; and that Parliament would provide a sum for the maintenance of parochial churches, that the object of that bill, was but one of a series, which the Government of Ireland had in contemplation for the promotion of religion. By this bill the Lord Lieutenant was enabled to pay 50,000*l.* out of the public treasury, to the board of first fruits, to be by them advanced in hand, to clergymen, having small benefices and no glebe houses, to enable them to erect glebe houses for their residences. Mr. Corry admitted, that the board of first fruits then had a balance in hand of 37,000*l.* unappropriated to the purposes of their institution. Without arraigning the fidelity of the Commissioners or Trustees in appropriating these funds, it is a notorious fact, that after sums of 700*l.* or 800*l.* having been paid to incumbents for the erection of glebe houses, many shells and foundations of such buildings have remained for some years stationary, from a defect in the funds or the application of them to their original purpose.

† This act was passed in consequence of his Majesty's message to the two houses of parliament, for arming the population, and by it the Lord Lieutenant was authorized to call for returns of all males between the age of 15 and 60, and to appoint officers to arrange and command such, as should be willing to serve, and to survey and purchase and appropriate to purposes of defence, any grounds, buildings, &c. and to make such other warlike preparations, as should be found requisite.

1802



Ireland, leaving a balance in the treasury for unforeseen emergencies. The taxes he proposed were all upon articles of luxury or mischief, foreign wines, home made and imported spirits.

*Irish poor.*

Amongst the parliamentary proceedings of this session occurred, Colonel Bagwell's humane recommendation of some public assistance to the numerous poor, who, in the very best parts of the country, were daily and publicly perishing in the streets and highways, through want, disease and infirmity, without any place to shelter their heads, or to receive medicine, food, or comfort, under their calamities. Without subjecting Ireland to that abusive system of poor rates, which exists in England, he hoped some partial remedy might be adopted for extreme cases. Mr. Corry admitted the evil, and referred to Mr. Abbott and his successor Mr. Wickham, who had both successively, but not successfully given their attention to the subject. In passing the union, the poor of Ireland had been totally overlooked. Mr. Wickham observed, that without some new modification of the articles of union, "it would be impracticable for the Government of the country, to bring forward officially, any measure chargeable at the public expense, for the relief of the poor of Ireland. By those articles, the public and local expenses of Ireland were partly chargeable on Great Britain. He believed, that a charge for the maintenance of the poor of Ireland,

“ which was a charge by no means comprehended, <sup>1803.</sup>  
“ nor contemplated under the articles of union,  
“ would hardly be relished by the people of Eng-  
“ land, and he doubted, whether a separate tax  
“ could under those articles be levied on Ireland.”  
Thus were the poor of Ireland, by the annihilation  
of their own Parliament, deprived of their local  
and natural guardians, and remitted to a distant  
legislature for relief, which by the same act, and  
by local interest and selfishness was prevented from  
granting it.

The grand active principle, upon which Lord <sup>Measures  
of Lord  
Hardwick's  
Govern-  
ment.</sup> Hardwicke accepted of the Government of Ireland,  
was to resist her emancipation, to perpetuate the  
old system of division and seclusion, under the de-  
lusive semblance of a new system of conciliation  
and mildness. Some happy effects were immediately  
produced by this external alteration of measures ; but  
incalculable were the ultimate evils of the duplicity.  
The grand state engine of a venal press was never  
more efficiently resorted to, than by the servants of  
Lord Hardwicke's administration. Not a journalist  
or printer in Ireland would admit a reflection upon  
a single measure of his Halcyon Government. Mr.  
Wickham's mission to England was less to report  
the actual state of Ireland, and silence such as should  
oppose measures conducive to the welfare of the  
country, than to procure certain Irish Members to  
assert, that Ireland was unexceptionably loyal and  
tranquil ; whilst he had in his possession a minute

1803.

detail of that very insurrection, which afterwards broke out.\* From the result of the special commissions at Waterford and Clonmell, as well as the ordinary spring assizes, it had appeared in evidence;

\* Some weeks after the publication of the *Historical Review of the state of Ireland*, the author was admitted to a conference with Mr. Wickham, to whom a copy of that work had been given by Mr. Addington to peruse and report upon. The work was on his table, and the objectionable passages carefully marked with papers throughout; suffice it here to say, that the panegyric passed upon Lord Hardwicke and his Government by Mr. Wickham could hardly have been more highly strained. It is minutely in the Author's recollection, that he urged as forcibly as he could with Mr. Wickham, the moral impossibility of Ireland being in a contented state, however tranquil she might appear, whilst emancipation was refused, whilst she was insulted and oppressed by the orangemen, and secluded and mistrusted by Government. He refers the reader with confirmed confidence, to what he said of this conference in his *postliminious preface*, which was published about 7 months after it had taken place. "So spoke Mr. Wickham to the author on the 24th day of July last, (the day after the late explosion in Dublin). In a conversation of nearly 2 hours, Mr. Secretary distinctly disclosed to the author the grounds of the Minister's displeasure and offence at his history; it treated with unseemly freedom, some of the most revered characters of that nation; it spoke disrespectfully of persons (the orangemen) to whom Government looked up for the salvation of the country; it retailed horrors beyond those of the French Revolution. When the author surmised the probability of some immediate attempts of the discontented in Ireland, he was boastingly assured of the unprecedented tranquility and content diffused through the county by means of the mild and conciliatory measures of the castle."

1803.

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that none of the disturbers of the public peace in any part of the country had been actuated by political bias, or exhibited even remote symptoms of insurgent concert or conspiracy.\* It was the artful pride and boast of Lord Hardwicke's administration, to preserve the tranquillity of the country, without resorting to any of the extraordinary powers of trial by court martial or suspending the *Habeas Corpus* act, which had been for a long time vested in his discretion. It was their ambition to prove, that Catholic emancipation, which they were pledged to resist, was a matter of indifference to the bulk of the population, and that tranquil acquiescence, under the privation, was a full justification of its refusal.

Notwithstanding the system of terror and coercion had been discontinued by Lord Cornwallis and Lord Hardwicke, it was out of human probability, that every impression of the spirit of 1798 should be erased from each individual, who had been unfortunately seduced or forced into it. But the disposition to insurgency had then so far abated, that the pre-existence of local discontent and consequent riot did not in-

Symptoms  
of Insur-  
gency.

\* At Londonderry 8 rioters were convicted (though afterwards pardoned) for having been principal leaders of a serious riot, in which some hundreds of Free-masons had been assailed by as considerable a number of orangemen, who the Crown Solicitor observed, fought with such fury, as if Rebellion still raged. Five men lost their lives, and several their limbs in the conflict. This was the first orange outrage, which was not to be traced to political bias or religious acrimony.

1802.

duce the most obdurate to avail themselves of the kindled fire of turbulence, and blow it into a flame of rebellion. Some months preceding the 23d of July, the Irish Government had been apprized, that persons in Dublin were forming plans of insurrection. They had not however such information, as to justify their issuing warrants for arresting the parties charged. They applied to the English Government to have the *Habeas Corpus* again suspended in Ireland; but from want of specific information, and the confident assertions of so many Irish Members of Parliament, that the Irish were loyally disposed, and then particularly animated against the tyrannical and irreligious conduct of the French Government, it was not judged proper, to arm the Lord Lieutenant with any powers beyond those of the laws of the land. By the vigour of them alone, had the country, for the two last years, been kept quiet, and there appeared no reason, why it should not so continue.

Commence-  
ment of Mr.  
Robert Emmett's in-  
surrection.

Mr. Robert Emmett, a younger brother of Mr. Emmett, who was concerned in the rebellion of 1798, had returned from Bruxelles, whither he had gone to meet his brother in the preceding month of December,\* with a view to carry into effect

\* In the debate on Sir John Wrottesley's motion for an enquiry into the conduct of his Majesty's Government of Ireland relative to the insurrection of the 23d of July, Lord Castlereagh said. " That he never meant to convey to the house, that such a miracle had taken place, that the people of the country



those visionary, desperate, and unconcerted plans of treason, which had occupied his infatuated mind. He declared in Newgate, after he had been found guilty, what the evidence at his trial confirmed, that *he was the chief mover and instigator of the insurrection.* The Attorney General, therefore, in his opening speech on that trial observed: "We have now brought to the bar of justice, not a person, who has been seduced by others, but a Gentleman, to whom the rebellion may be traced, *as the origin, the life and the soul of it.*" The paucity and desperate wretchedness of the unfortunate recruits he enlisted in the eight months of his infatuated crusade, triumphantly prove, that the very embers of the late rebellion were so extinct, that even his enthusiasm could not rekindle them into a flame. During the first four months after his arrival, nothing of his machination transpired. He lived in obscure lodgings at Harold's Cross, under the assumed name of Hewitt. Soon after the King's proclamation, on the 8th of March, conceiving the moment of national alarm at the

"corrupted and systematically made traitors should have been so altered, that there were no seeds of rebellion, and, in place of a formidable conspiracy fraught with danger to the existing Government, it was only the wild and contemptible project of Mr. Emmett, a young man, of a heated and enthusiastic imagination, who inheriting a property of 3000l. from his father, which was entirely at his own disposal, thought he could not dispose of it to more advantage, than in an attempt to overturn the Government of his country."

1802.

1802.

renovation of hostilities, and a threatened invasion favourable to his projects, he became more active in his preparations. The whole of his family portion, which consisted of 2500*l.* he devoted to his enthusiasm. On the 24th of March he took a lease of a malt-house in Mass-lane, as a depot for ammunition; arms, and general preparatives for this fatal project. About the same time he also established other subordinate depots for the fabrication and reception of arms and ammunition, particularly one in Patrick-street, for the formation of rockets and ball cartridges. In the beginning of April, he quitted his lodgings at Harold's-cross with the name of Hewitt, and in the new name of Ellis he took the lease of a house, for which he paid a fine of 61 guineas, in Butterfield-lane, near Rathfarnham. The three confidential agents and instruments, which Mr. Emmett used for his purposes, were William Dowdall, who had formerly been Secretary to the Irish Whig Club, and had been sent, with others suspected or found guilty of treasonable practices, to Fort George, in Scotland; one Stafford, a baker; and Michael Quigley, a bricklayer, who had returned from transportation before the sentence of his banishment had expired.

Continu-  
ance of Em-  
mett's in-  
surrection.

In the course of the intermediate months, the different depots in Dublin were, at the sole expense of Mr. Robert Emmett, furnished with military pikes and handles, ammunition, and clothing, with-

out any interposition of Government.\* In June, soon after the arrival of General Fox, as Commander in Chief in Ireland, the county of Kildare shewed strong symptoms of insurrection, and on the 12th of July, they were considered to be so threatening, that the Lord Lieutenant recommended it to the Commander in Chief to send troops to three or four different places in that county, in order to keep down that mischievous spirit. General Fox set out on a military tour into the interior. On the 16th of July, within four days after Government had been thus put on its guard, a depot of powder blew up in Patrick-street, in which there were two men nearly suffocated: one of whom, in throwing up the window, cut the artery of his arm and bled to death, and the other was carried to prison. In this depot were discovered some pike handles besides the preparations for making rockets and ball cartridges. With all this knowledge of the means of insurgency being in immediate preparation, still Government took no measures of precaution. Mr. Emmett however and his *mighty consulate*, who had for some time kept their provisional government in Butterfield-lane, were so alarmed at the discoveries, which the explosion in Patrick-street would lead to, that they quitted their house in Butterfield-

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\* Vide the speech of Mr. C. Yorke, who from his official situation of Secretary at war, must have known the information and consequent conduct of Government.

1803.

lane and took up their permanent residence at the grand depot in Mass-lane. Mr. Emmett had there a mattrass to sleep on, that he might be present night and day to direct and animate the workmen to complete the preparations for the visionary catastrophe. On the second floor of this malt house was he, as the Attorney General observed, *what he shortly expected to be in the country at large, the acting manager, making every thing his own, and every person obeying his directions.* Thus did this unfortunate enthusiast spend the last week of his visionary projects, surrounded by 50 or 60 wretched dependents, whom he was obliged to feed, like a company of strolling players in the loft getting up their parts for a bloody tragedy, which was to astonish the gaping villagers in the barn beneath. There was he to be seen vaunting his powers, anticipating victory, denouncing vengeance against the castle, decorating himself in his General's uniform, green, white and gold, armed as for battle, haranguing his men, displaying his ammunition, arms and stores, and distributing by anticipation the profuse rewards awaiting the progress of the heroic saviours of their country. In this same week of rehearsal and preparation, said Lord Castlereagh,\*

“ The delegates, that had been dispatched to the  
 “ County of Kildare, to solicit the assistance of the  
 “ rebels in that quarter, returned on Thursday  
 “ previous to the 23d, and with them came the  
 “ leaders of the party in that county, to ascertain

\* Speech on Sir J. Wrottesley's motion, 7, March, 1804.

“ the nature of the business. These leaders took <sup>1803.</sup>  
“ upon themselves to form a judgment of their  
“ prospect from the extent of the means, that had  
“ been provided, and demanded a full explanation.  
“ Emmett not judging it discreet to state exactly,  
“ how he was circumstanced, carried them to the  
“ depot, without making any communication, and  
“ the consequence was, that on their return to the  
“ County of Kildare, they made so unfavourable a  
“ report, that with the exception of a few drunken  
“ persons, not a man of the disaffected in that  
“ county, which in the whole had not exceeded  
“ 150, came to assist in the enterprize, and those  
“ even dwindled to 20, before they reached the  
“ market house in Thomas-street, who were all  
“ General-Officers, and who, upon the discomfi-  
“ ture, fled to Wicklow.”

Whatever judgment the Irish Government may <sup>General  
ambiguous  
conduct of  
Government.</sup>  
have formed of their knowledge, or whatever use  
they may have chosen to make of it, certain it is,  
that they were in possession of it, because they  
acted upon it; but in so ambiguous a manner, as  
evinced either their incredulity in the information  
or their unwillingness to prevent the mischief.  
It is allowed on all hands, that Government had  
been for many days forewarned of their danger by  
several persons of respectability, and the communi-  
cations were generally ungraciously received. Mr.  
A. Marsden was at that time possessed of more  
actual power than any other man in Ireland, and was  
the person, to whose discretion, during the whole

1663.

of Lord Hardwicke's administration, the appropriation of the unlimited allowances for secret service money had been confided. Besides the variety of secret information received by Mr. Marsden, which never has come to light, it has either been proved in evidence on the state trials, or stated by the official servants of the crown in Parliament, that Mr. Clarke, a considerable cotton manufacturer at Palmerstown, a magistrate for the County of Dublin, an intimate friend and purveyor of secret information to Mr. Marsden, had, for several days during that fatal week, imparted to the under secretary most important intelligence, of which he had given no intimation to the Lord Lieutenant, till the 23d; and yet they had concerted military operations together, which had ended in sending a military guard to Palmerstown for the protection of his friend's concerns at that place, which is about 4 miles from Dublin, and altogether a new military station. That Colonel Aylmer came on Saturday the 23d from the County of Kildare, and gave information, that parties of insurgents were coming up from that County, and that there was reason to apprehend, they would attack the lodge in Phoenix Park on their way to Dublin. Under these circumstances Mr. Marsden wrote in the morning of the 23d to the commander in chief to meet his Excellency at the castle on business of importance. At this meeting the friends of Lord Hardwicke (rather of Mr. Marsden) alledged, that General Fox was minutely apprized of every particular then known to Govern-

ment, and that all measures of precaution were left to him under a cautionary recommendation from the Viceroy, that every thing should be done with as little alarm as possible. The friends of the commander in chief denied, that he was made acquainted with all the circumstances, which had then come to the knowledge of Government, and they asserted, that the very communications made to him necessarily left him under the conviction, that none of the reports were in fact credited by Government. The action of all parties present at this meeting immediately consequent to its breaking up, which was at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, is the only criterion, by which the public can judge of what passed at it. 1803.

The Viceroy quitted the castle, where he was perfectly secure amidst his guards, and on the spot to command a garrison of 4,000 men, and to encourage and dispose of the whole civil power of the city, in order to return guarded by a serjeant and twelve dragoons, to the park, a place of insecurity, and actually threatened; *lest, as Mr. Marsden observed, an alarm should be excited through the kingdom, by his Excellency's remaining in town to dine at the castle*. The Chancellor went to dine with the Lord Lieutenant at the lodge in the park, that his Excellency might not want advice. The Commander-in-chief, having received neither information nor instruction returned to Kilmainham. The Lord Chief Justice went out of town. No intimation of insurrection was given to the Lord Mayor. Some Conduct of Lord Lieutenant and others.

1803.

instructions were sent to the superintending Magistrate of the police, Mr. Alderman Alexander, but of so loose and unimpressive a nature, that he found himself justified under them to quit his station and retire to his villa, satisfied with having left general directions with Mr. Wilson, his chief peace-officer, to be on the alert, for that \* riots were expected. Thus devolved upon Mr. Marsden, the first public officer, and for the last few years the man of the most efficient authority in Dublin, the protection of the state from the impending danger. That Gentleman proved by his conduct, that he at least did not wholly discredit the information, which was still hourly flowing in upon him; for he remained that day at his post in the castle, contrary to his daily habit of dining and sleeping in the country throughout the summer. Up to the very hour of explosion, and after it, was he writing letters expressive of his alarms, fears and cautions, to persons of public responsibility. In one of them he expressed himself to this effect. "Our situation is become more serious—appearances are more uncomfortable—the people are marching on the edge of the canal." In consequence of Colonel Aylmer's

\* It appears by Mr. Wilson's own evidence, that all he did to comply with his order, which was not a verbal communication, but a written note delivered to him at 6 o'clock in the evening, was to go to Thomas street about 9 o'clock at night, accompanied by 8 peace officers, a watch constable and 2 watch men. A force certainly not calculated to meet or put down an armed conspiracy to seize the castle and overthrow the Government.



intelligence, Mr. Marsden took upon himself to strengthen the guard at the Phoenix lodge, with an officer and thirty men, for as he himself expressed it, *it would be handsomely done to give the party at the Phoenix lodge more security.* The reinforcements arrived between 8 and 9 o'clock on Saturday evening, as his Excellency was concluding a letter to General Fox, to caution him against creating unnecessary alarm.\* The Commander-in-chief had no information of the insurrection till half an hour before it broke out.

1802.

The catastrophe of this treasonable romance was of a piece with its origin and progress. Mr. Emmett after 8 months preparation, mustered all the forces he could command on the fatal day. About 9 o'clock in the evening an unusual number of unarmed men, in separate groups, most of them apparently intoxicated, assembled in and about Thomas-street. At the appointed hour of 10 o'clock, they rushed in a body towards the depot in Mass-lane, where they were furnished with arms, chiefly pikes. The

Final catastrophe of the rebellion.

\* This occasioned the following postscript in his Excellency's letter to the Commander in-chief. "I understand you have enforced the guard here by the addition of an officer and 30 men. I suppose you have received some other information, besides what I have given you, as an alarm has already taken place. I think it will be increased by this measure." An unequivocal proof, that at 3 o'clock, the Commander-in-chief had received no information, which called for, or warranted the providing additional security for the person of the chief Magistrate.

1603.

night was unusually dark for that season of the year. As they were armed, they returned precipitately to Thomas-street. The party at that time amounted not to one hundred men, \* but there

\* In detailing these facts, the author has felt it a duty to follow the most authentic documents he could procure, and this he considers to be the speeches, which the Attorney General addressed to the Juries, that tried Mr. Emmett and the other prisoners under the special commission, *supported by evidence*. It is not to be imagined, however zealous for the honor of Government, that his Majesty's Attorney General, a gentleman of liberal education and professional eminence, should in the execution of the awful function of demanding the blood of his fellow creatures, in atonement for the offended justice of their country, attempt to mislead the Court and Jury by a false or even exaggerated statement of facts. When he exercised his official duty in persuading the Juries to shed blood, he was credited for accuracy of statement, as he was for perspicuity of argument and strength of proof. That law-officer's addresses to the Juries emphatically breathed the spirit and wishes of the Government. Mr. Standish O'Grady had only been Attorney General since the 8th of the preceding June. Sir John Stewart his predecessor in that office, finding, that as a Gentleman, he could no longer submit to the overgrown powers of Mr. Under-Secretary Marsden, had resigned, and Mr. O'Grady, for whom Mr. Marsden had contrived a sinecure place of third Counsel to the Commissioners of Revenue, (worth £2000 per annum, without ostentation or responsibility) was installed with a grateful and thorough understanding of the feelings and powers of his benefactor and patron. Under these impressions, on the trial of Mr. Emmett, he played the encomiast of a weak, double and surprised Government. "When I consider the vigilance" and firmness of his Majesty's Government, the spirit and "discipline of his Majesty's troops, and that armed valour and "loyalty, which from one end of the country to the other has

was an expectation of numerous recruits arriving from the country; they were expected through every avenue. The depot was protected on the side of Thomas-street by the rebel mob, and on the side of the Liffey by centinels, who stood contiguous to hollow pieces of timber laid across the street filled with combustible matter, ready for immediate explosion. A rocket was let off from Thomas-street soon after 10 o'clock, which was the signal for turning out immediately; the armed men in Thomas-street were headed by their leaders, who vainly attempted to animate them to proceed to attack the castle, which was not a quarter of a mile from Thomas-street. Mr. Emmett was there in full uniform with a pair of pistols on each side, and his drawn sword in his hand. Neither he in person, nor the Generals of his staff, who were also in full uniform, nor any of his *provisional Government* could keep together the undisciplined banditti. Even before resistance they were thrown into confusion, hesitated, halted, and then fled in disorder. In less than a quarter of an hour from the signal of attack, Mr. Emmett and the more

“ raised itself for the purpose of crushing domestic treason, and  
“ if necessary, of meeting and repelling a foreign foe, I do not  
“ think it unreasonable to indulge a sanguine hope, that a  
“ *continuance of the same conduct on the part of Government*, and  
“ of the same exertions upon the part of the people, will preserve the nation free, happy and independant.” Mr. O’Grady was, upon the death of Lord Viscount Avonmore, promoted to his present situation of Lord Chief Baron of his Majesty’s Court of Exchequer.

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prominent leaders of that infatuated band of conspirators disappeared. Finding, that in the hour of action, they commanded no controul over an unorganized rabble,\* they secured themselves by flight, either to avoid the shedding of blood, which would not further their visionary projects, or to reserve themselves for a renovation of their desperate efforts with instruments better marshalled and trained to their frantic schemes. Although these armed ruffians headed and encouraged by their leaders, shrunk from the combat, yet when left to themselves they basely imbrued the arms, which had been put into their hands for the bold, though wicked purpose of storming the castle, in the blood of unresisting and unprotected individuals in defiance of the declaration of their *provisional Government*, that "no man should be put to death in cold blood, and the first prisoners, that should fall into their hands should be treated with the respect due to the unfortunate." They surrounded single and unarmed yeomen and individuals of the military, whom they massacred without mercy or provocation. Colonel Brown (though not on duty) was fired at and killed on the spot with a blunderbuss.

\* Mr. Attorney General accounted for the feelings of this unfortunate youth on this desperate occasion, by quoting the words of a brother conspirator spoken of him. "He is very desponding however, and says, the people are incapable of redress, and unworthy of it. This opinion he is confirmed in by the late transaction, which he thinks, must have succeeded but for their *barbarous desertion and want of unanimity*."

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Two unarmed soldiers were fired upon and killed in like manner. Coronet Cole was shot at and grievously wounded. As Lord Kilwarden was returning in his carriage from Newlands, his country seat, with his Daughter and his Nephew, the Reverend Richard Wolfe, they stopped the carriage in Thomas-street, and having opened the door, they cried out they had Lord Kilwarden. They took out the lady and permitted her to go unhurt.\* Lord Kilwarden being unwilling to quit his carriage, was dragged out and most inhumanly stabbed with pikes. He repeatedly called for mercy, but in vain. The monsters were fighting amongst themselves to try, who could get the most blows at him; he was left for dead. Mr. Richard Wolfe attempted to save himself by flight, but was pursued by some pike men and

\* In the distracted state of her mind, she gained the castle; instinct, more than reason, drove her into the apartment, in which Sir E. Baker Littlehales, Secretary for the war department was entertaining General Craddock and a large party of military and other friends at dinner. Incredible as it may appear, the first intimation of the insurrection made at the castle was the interruption of the military revelries, by the awful appearance of the distracted Miss Wolfe, announcing incoherently the catastrophe of her still bleeding father. Yet that ill-fated nobleman had on that very morning been with Mr. A. Marsden at the castle, as well as with other servants of Government, without having received the most remote intimation of danger, although Mr. A. Marsden, who, in the absence of Mr. Wickham, was in fact the sole Minister of Ireland; and he had, early on that very morning, received positive information of the intended insurrection from ten or eleven Magistrates. He indeed was at the castle the whole of the day.

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barbarously stabbed to death. Lord Kilwarden was conveyed to a neighbouring watch house, where he survived about an hour; during which Major Swan entered, and upon seeing his Lordship in that mangled condition, indignantly exclaimed, that the barbarous perpetrators of the horrid deed should be instantly executed, and it is reported, that his Lordship, with an agonizing effort, raised his head, and with his dying breath uttered this noble sentiment. *Let no man suffer for my death, but after trial and by the laws of his country.\** Others of these ruthless assassins, in lieu of the King's castle and the King's forces, went to attack the marshalsea or prison. It was protected by a slender guard. They came upon it by surprise, shot the corporal, and instantly fled. Another party of them wounded Mr. Wilson, the peace officer and killed one of his men. Shortly after, Lieutenant Brady with 40 or 50 men of the 21st Regiment, came into Thomas-street, fired upon the mob, and they fled in all directions, leaving several dead. Some slight resistance was made by them to a detachment of the Coombe guard, under Lieutenant Douglass; they wounded two of his men, but received several volleys of shot, which

\* It was afterwards resolved in the House of Commons, that a sum not exceeding 1,200*l.* British-currency, be annually paid out of the Irish consolidated fund to Lady Kilwarden, during her life, after her demise the same to be continued, viz. 300*l.* to John Lord Kilwarden, during his natural life, and after his decease to the person, who shall next bear the title of Kilwarden, during his life, and the remaining sum of 400*l.* per annum to the two daughters of Lord Kilwarden, during their lives, 200*l.* to each, and the whole to the survivor during her life.

brought down some and totally dispersed the rest of them. Such was the total want of subordination, concert and system amongst those unorganized desperadoes, that their grand depot was left unprotected and undefended. Lieutenant Coultman of the 9th regiment, with a small party passed unmolested over the hollow pieces of timber, and observing a bundle of some hundred pikes resting against the wall of the depot, (on which was written *Malt Stores*) two of his men mounted upon the pikes and entered the window of the second story, through which the remainder of his men soon entered by means of a ladder, which in the mean time they procured. There were found 36,400 ball cartridges, several scaling ladders, grappling irons, hand grenades, pikes, rebel uniforms and colors, and 7 or 8000 proclamations \* from the

1803.

\* These proclamations were different. The larger of the two was addressed by the provisional Government to the people of Ireland; the shorter to the citizens of Dublin. Copies of them are given to shew the genuine spirit and general views of Mr. Emmett's insurrection. Amongst other printed papers intended for circulation, and which were proved on the different trials, were two other separate proclamations, one of them under this address, *Men of Leinster stand to your Arms*, the other under the following, *Men of Munster and Connaught*, and a paper consisting of 30 short articles, embracing the detail of the visionary republican government, which Mr. Emmett's enthusiasm had prefigured for his country. It bore the following title, *Conformably to the above Proclamation, the Provisional Government of Ireland decree as follows:*

1803. *Provisional Government.* With regard to the pikes, as most of the mob, which made their appearance,

The Provisional Government to the People of Ireland.

"You are now called upon to shew to the world, that you are competent to take your place among nations, that you have a right to claim their recognizance of you as an independent country, by the only satisfactory proof you can furnish of your capability of maintaining your independence, your wresting it from England with your own hands.

"In the developement of this system, which has been organized within the last eight months, at the close of internal defeat, and without the hope of external assistance; which has been conducted with a tranquillity, mistaken for obedience; which neither the failure of a similar attempt in England has retarded, nor the renewal of hostilities has accelerated; in the developement of this system, you will shew to the people of England, that there is a spirit of perseverance in this country beyond their power to calculate or repress. You will shew them, that as long as they think to hold unjust dominion over Ireland, under no change of circumstances can they count upon its obedience; under no aspect of affairs can they judge of its intentions; you will shew to them, that the question, which it now behoves them to take into serious and instant consideration, is not, whether they will resist a separation, which it is our fixed determination to effect, but whether or not they will *drive us beyond separation*; whether they will, by a sanguinary resistance, create a deadly national antipathy between the two countries, or whether they will take the only means still left of driving such a sentiment from our minds,—a prompt, manly, and sagacious acquiescence in our just and unalterable determination.

"If the secrecy, with which the present effort has been conducted shall have led our enemies to suppose, that its extent must have been partial, a few days will undeceive them. That confidence, which was once lost, by trusting to external support, and suffering our own means to be gradually undermined, has



were supplied from this depot, no more remained for discovery than the trifling number of 6 or 8000.

1803.  


has been again restored. We have been mutually pledged to each other, to look only at our own strength, and that the first introduction of a system of terror, the first attempt to execute an individual in one county, should be a signal for insurrection in all. We have now, without the loss of a man, with our means of communication untouched, brought our plans to the moment, when they are ripe for execution, and in the promptitude, with which nineteen counties will come forward at once to execute them, it will be found, that neither confidence nor communication are wanting to the people of Ireland.

"In calling on our countrymen to come forward, we feel ourselves bound at the same time, to justify our claim to their confidence by a precise declaration of our views. We therefore solemnly declare, that our object is to establish a free and independent republic in Ireland: that the pursuit of this object we will relinquish only with our lives, that we will never, but at the express call of our country, abandon our post, till the acknowledgement of its independence is obtained from England, and that we will enter into no negotiation (but for exchange of prisoners) with the Government of that country, while a British army remains in Ireland. Such is the declaration, which we call on the people of Ireland to support. And we call first on that part of Ireland, which was once paralyzed by the want of intelligence, to show, that to that cause only was its inaction to be attributed: on that part of Ireland, which was once foremost by its fortitude in suffering; on that part of Ireland, which once offered to take the salvation of the country on itself; on that part of Ireland, where the flame of liberty first glowed; we call upon the NORTH to stand up and shake off their slumber and oppressions.

Citizens of Dublin.

"A band of patriots, mindful of their oath and faithful to their engagement as United Irishmen, have determined to give freedom to their country, and a period to the long career of English oppression.

1800.  


Thus ended the achievements of the romantic and infatuated rebellion of one hour raised by Mr.

" In this endeavour they are now successfully engaged and their efforts are seconded by compleat and universal co-operation from the country, every part of which from the extremity of the North, to that of the South, pours forth its warriors in support of our hallowed cause. Citizens of Dublin, we require your aid, necessary secrecy has prevented, to many of you, notice of our plan ; but the erection of our national standard, the sacred, though long degraded Green will be sufficient to call to arms, and rally round it every man, in whose breast exists a spark of patriotism, or sense of duty. Avail yourselves of your local advantages—in a city each street becomes a defile, and each house a battery—impede the march of your oppressors—charge them with the arms of the brave—the pike—and from your windows and roofs, hurl stones, bricks, bottles and all other convenient implements, on the head of the satellites of your tyrant, the mercenary, the sanguinary soldiery of England.

" Orangemen ! add not to the catalogue of your follies and crimes ; already have you been duped to the ruin of your country, in the legislative union with its tyrant ;—attempt not an opposition, which will carry with it your inevitable destruction. Return from the paths of delusion, return to the arms of your countrymen, who will receive and hail your repentance.

" Countrymen of all descriptions, let us act with union and concert. All sects, Catholic, Protestant, Presbyterian are equally and indiscriminately embraced in the benevolence of your object. Repress, prevent and discourage excesses, pillage and intoxication ; let each man do his duty, and remember, that during public agitation, inaction becomes a crime. Be no other competition known than that of doing good ; remember against whom you fight ; your oppressors for six hundred years. Remember their massacres, their tortures, remember your murdered friends—your burned houses—your violated females ; keep in mind your country, to whom we are now giving her

Robert Emmett. Dublin was quiet before 11 o'clock on that same night. 1800.  
*Emmet*

General Fox having had no information with regard to the insurrection, till about half an hour before it broke out, that is at half past nine o'clock at night, had not ordered the garrison to be under arms, nor drawn them out, nor commanded any portion of them to repair to those places, where the insurrection took place. But \* "after the effort had been made, two parties of the 21st, under the command of Lieutenant Brady and another officer in the liberty had put down the rebellion, before the alarm was generally given. As soon as the insurrection was known, Sir Charles Asgill and General Durn sent out different parties to scour the city. Between the hours of 10 and 11 o'clock, on the night of the 23d, 500 troops had been sent out to different parts of the city and its environs, to the castle, to the Lord Lieutenant's house in the park, to the Bank, to the old provosts, and to Harold's Cross, exclusive of the parties, that had been sent from the

high rank among nations, and in the honest terror of feeling, let us exclaim, that as in the hour of her trial we serve this country, so may God serve us in that, which will be last of all."

\* This is the official account of the postliminious caution of Government against rebellion, on the 23d of July, given by Lord Castlereagh, almost nine months after he had availed himself of every opportunity of collecting what could be alleged in justification of their conduct on that fatal day.

1803.

“ other barracks to protect the tranquillity of the city. The hour of ten was nearly the hour, at which the insurrection commenced, yet so impotent had been the plan and the means of the insurgents, that after the first repulse from the party of the 21st, under the command of Lieutenant Brady, none were to be met with except a few, who sheltered themselves at the corner of streets, under cover of one of the darkest nights, perhaps, ever remembered at that season of the year. But whilst General Dunn made such large detachments, he kept 600 men in the barracks ready to act on any emergency.”\*

On the same night Mr. Marsden, in the crisis of his alarm, dispatched an express to England, which authorized Lord Hawkesbury to announce in the House of Commons, that a *Rebellion had broken out in Ireland more enormous, than ever occurred before*. On the next day Lord Hardwicke, under the first impression made upon him by the detail of the events of the preceding night, wrote to Mr. Foster in direct terms, *that his Government had been surprised*.

\* This noble advocate of the Irish Government, concluded this part of his speech with the following assumption. “ He trusted, that from what he had stated in general, it would appear, that so far as any judgment could be formed from the result, the precautions taken were infinitely greater, than in any rational view of the subject, the circumstances of the case could be supposed to require.”

To the tragic romance exhibited by Mr. Emmett in Dublin, succeeded on the next day the afterpiece brought forwards by Mr. Thomas Russell in the North. This Gentleman was distinguished for his military talents, liberality, strength of mind, and urbanity of manners. He had served with high credit both in the East and West Indies under General Knox, through whom he became intimate with Lord Northland's family, where he was highly esteemed, till a difference in politics caused a lasting rupture. He had been appointed a magistrate of Tyrone, and lived beloved and respected for some years at Dungannon. His enthusiasm exceeded that of Mr. Emmett, in as much, as it had seized possession of a person of maturer age, extensive experience, deep reflection upon the situation of his country, and severe personal suffering for the cause he espoused.\* From Dungannon he removed

1803.

Russell's insurrection in the North.

\* When Mr. Russell was brought by Major Sirr into the presence of Mr. Wickham, Captain Knox and others at the castle in the beginning of September, his conduct was bold and determined. "I glory, said he, in the cause, in which I have engaged; and for it, I would meet death with pleasure, either in the field or on the scaffold. But do not imagine, that my death or that of hundreds will avail to serve the continuance of your power. No, though my arrest may prove some embarrassment to my friends, the organization is too extensive, and the plan too well executed to entertain a doubt, that the object will ever be relinquished."

Mr. Russell was arrested by Major Sirr on the 9th of Sept. 1803, in the evening; he had taken lodgings on the 7th of that month, at Mr. Daniel Muley's, a Gun-maker in Parliament-street,

1803.

to Belfast, where he was arrested in 1792 and conveyed with Samuel Nelson and others to New-

under the name of Harris. He was wholly unknown to his landlord. Mr. Muley's foreman, one Fleming, having read advertisements of rewards of 500*l*. from Government, the city of Dublin and town of Belfast, for the apprehension of Russell, cast a suspicious eye upon his master's new lodger, whom he had seen, when he came to hire the lodging, but not since, for Mr. Russell had not quitted his apartment until the time he was secured, upon the information, which Fleming had given to Major Sirr. That Police Officer immediately repaired to Parliament-street, and in the absence of Mr. Muley was shown up to the apartment of Mr. Russell by Fleming, and having secured the person of Mr. Russell, he called out of the window to the guard, who instantly attended, and escorted Mr. Russell to the Castle. No sooner was Mr. Russell's person identified than Fleming received a part of the reward; but the information having been concerted, managed and executed by others, as well as by Fleming, they quarrelled among themselves about the division of the spoil, and a paper war between the confederates, for their respective claims, was the consequence; the belligerent claimants were Fleming, Emerson an attorney and one Lindsey and Major Sirr. Mr. Muley himself no sooner returned home, than he was immediately seized by Major Sirr, committed, and kept in the Exchange until 11 o'clock that night; he was then sent for and examined before the privy council.

Having deposited on oath all he knew about his lodger, and given an account of his conduct, during the short time he had been with him, he was committed to Sandy's provost, where he was for 13 months confined in a room with 77 men and 2 boys, of whom 17 died within that period, apparently from the hardship of their confinement. They were obliged to lie upon the bare flags even without straw, and had the allowance of 1*lb* of beef and a 2*d* loaf each man every 24 hours with water.

gate in Dublin, where in his confinement he was frequently visited by Lord E. Fitzgerald, Arthur

1808.  
*W*

Thence Mr. Muley, against whom no charge was ever made, nor in fact a warrant issued for his apprehension, was transported to Kilmainham, where he remained confined till the 18th March, 1806, when the suspension bill was permitted to expire under the Bedford administration. He was discharged with some others, who were able to pay the expenses of a *Habeas Corpus*, which amounted to 8l. 8s. 8d. per head. Dr. Trevor had on behalf of Government, assured the prisoners they would be discharged without any expense whatever. Several of their fellow prisoners, who could not command that small sum, were detained for several days in prison, though at last discharged without any other expense than the Gaoler's fees. It is impossible here not to advert to the cruel and unconstitutional hardships, which have been undergone by persons confined under the suspicion or prejudice of Government, and were detained (mostly without any charge) from the summer of 1803 until March, 1806, when the people were restored to the constitutional rights of the *Habeas Corpus*. It cannot be too frequently repeated, that the managers of Lord Hardwicke's Government, in order to atone for, conceal, or disguise their having been surprised on the 23d July, 1803, by fourscore men, who, according to their own acknowledgments, were all that joined the insurrection of that night, thought proper to deprive above two thousand of his Majesty's subjects of their liberty, and torture them by the most unwarrantable cruelties, beyond the necessary security for safe custody. The gaols and prison-ships were crowded to a degree, that endangered the lives of all, and proved fatal to those of many. In July, 1804, there were stowed in Sandy's provost above 400 of these wretched victims. The prison abuses in Ireland, under Doctor Trevor and his associates, have from time to time been the frequent object of complaint, and some inconclusive proceedings have been had upon them in the court of Kings Bench in Ireland, and in the Imperial Parliament for

1803.

O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmett, Oliver Bond, Dr. Mc'Nevin, and other leaders of that party. He

several years successively. They have been the subject of many different publications from the sufferers. Mr. St. John Mason, a protestant barrister at law, in 1810, published in London, a most afflicting (almost incredible) account of these cruelties under the following title. "Prison abuses in Ireland, exemplified by documents setting forth the oppressions and atrocities of Doctor Trevor, and his associates, as practiced upon the state prisoners of Kilmainham, which oppressions are alledged to have been committed by order of Government, during the Earl of Hardwicke's administration in Ireland. Selected by St. John Mason, Esq. Barrister at Law, and dedicated to the Right Hon. R. B. Sheridan. *If truly stated, the treatment of those prisoners is a disgrace to all civilized Governments.* (Peter Moore, Esq. M. P. Speech in Parliament.?) The author has prefixed to this work the following notice to his readers. "Mr. Sheridan assures me, that he will, notwithstanding the treacherous and underhand efforts; which I know have been made by the delinquents, to bring forward early in the ensuing session of Parliament, the question of prison abuses in Ireland, particularly those of Kilmainham, as practiced upon the state prisoners, during the Earl of Hardwicke's administration, in which I also know, that he will be aided, if transcendancy of talent such as his can require aid, by some of the most distinguished Members of the House of Commons.

St. John Mason."

For the authenticated details of cruelties practiced upon the prisoners under the management of Doctor Trevor the reader is referred to Mr. Mason's book. But this system of overpunishing the state prisoners, appears to have taken its rise from a higher quarter. Witness what has been before said of the extraordinary sufferings of Colonel Despard in 1798, and what the Earl of Moira said in the house of Lords of Lord



remained confined there till 1798, whence he was sent with Mr. O'Connor and others to Fort George in Scotland. When, with others, he was liberated at the conclusion of the peace, he proceeded to France, whence he had lately returned to the North of Ireland, where he had been for many years extremely popular, highly respected, and generally confided in. He had written some pamphlets on the state of Ireland

1803.

Cloncurry, who, from like suspicion, was confined two years in the tower of London, without pen, ink or paper, with two guards in his room changed every two hours. He had petitioned the Secretary of State for his enlargement, in vain, and had the authority of Lord Cornwallis, that no charge had been transmitted from Ireland against him. He was discharged without trial. Beyond the severity of corporal punishment, there appears to have been exercised by Doctor Trevor a species of malignant severity upon the minds and consciences of his prisoners. Among other state prisoners at Kilmainham was a Mr. Dixon, a gentleman of large property and high respectability. He had more indulgences allowed him than any other of his fellow state prisoners. By special grace, a priest of his own persuasion (he was a Catholic) was permitted to have access to his room on Sundays and Holydays, to celebrate mass; but during the whole performance of that service, a common felon, to whose custody the state prisoners were committed, stood regularly sentinel at the door of Mr. Dixon's room, in order to keep off any other catholic prisoners, all of whom were denied the spiritual comfort of having divine service performed for them, for the space of three years, notwithstanding numerous and urgent applications for that purpose. It is also a fact, not altogether unworthy of observation, that during the whole time of that state imprisonment at Kilmainham, the Protestant chapel of the prison was used as a shamble,

1804

before the year 1798, in which he displayed great talent, information and apparent interest in the liberty of his country. With all these personal, local and political advantages, Mr. Russell had been labouring some months in the Cos. of Down and Antrim to stir up rebellion, and such was the unassailable loyalty of the North, heretofore considered the hot bed of disaffection, that during that whole time he was not able to master more than fourteen of the most abject cast; some abandoned drunkards and others ideots and mad. Through the contemptible and desperate means of such subjects, had Mr. Russell the enthusiastic phrenzy of attempting to raise the country into a flame by publishing and circulating the following summons to rebellion.

Russell's  
proclamation.

“ THOMAS RUSSELL.

“ Member of the Provisional Government and

“ General in chief of the Northern District.

“ Men of Ireland! once more in arms to assert

“ the rights of mankind, liberate your country!

“ You see by the secrecy, with which this effort

“ has been conducted, and by the multitudes in

“ all parts of Ireland, who are engaged in executing

“ this great object, that your Provisional Govern-

“ ment has acted with wisdom. You will see, that

“ in Dublin, the West, the North and the South,

“ the blow has been struck in the same moment.

“ Your enemies can no more withstand, than they

“ could foresee this mighty exertion. The pro-

“ clamation and regulations will show, that your

“ interest and honor have been considered. Your  
“ General, appointed by that Government to com-  
“ mand in this district, has only to exhort you to  
“ comply with these regulations. Your valour is  
“ well known; be as just and humane as you are  
“ brave, and then rely with confidence, that God,  
“ with whom alone is victory, will crown your  
“ efforts with success. The General orders, that  
“ hostages shall be secured in all quarters; and  
“ hereby apprizes the English Commander, that  
“ any outrage, contrary to the acknowledged laws  
“ of war, and of morality, shall be retaliated in  
“ the severest manner. And he further makes  
“ known, that such Irish, as in ten day from the date  
“ of this, are found in arms against their country,  
“ shall be treated as rebels, committed for trial, and  
“ their properties confiscated. But all men be-  
“ having peaceably, shall be under the protection  
“ of the law.

“ Head Quarters, July 24th, 1803.”

The only effect of this frantic proclamation was to awaken the vigilance and sharpen the severity of the Magistrates, and drive the very few affected by it, into obscurity or flight.

Early on Sunday morning, the Lord Lieutenant having been apprised, that the insurrection had been completely put down before midnight, came to Dublin, guarded with a small escort of Dragoons. A privy council sat for several hours, and a proclamation was prepared and issued on Monday morning, ordering the army to disperse all assem-

1803.  
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Further  
caution of  
Govern-  
ment.

1805.

blies of armed rebels, and to do military execution upon all such found in arms. Barriers were erected in Dublin, and strong detachments stationed with canon \* upon the bridges, and in the most frequented avenues and passes in the city. After the hour of danger had passed, superabundant caution was taken. After the insurrection was over, the mansion-house was broken open, and robbed of its arms. The Lord Mayor had received no notice of the expected insurrection, and was in the country, when it exploded. The streets were paraded night and day by military patrols; even the theatres were shut up; and every suspected person was taken into custody.

\* As the English Ministers confidently undertook to prove to the nation, that the conduct of the administration in Ireland, under Lord Hardwicke, had been uniformly that of a *wise, provident and vigorous Government*; (vide Lord Castlereagh's speech on Sir John Wrottesley's motion) it is important to make it known, that with all the previous knowledge of preparations for a conspiracy possessed by Government, on the 22d of July, there were in Dublin only 6 pieces of ordnance in the Castle, and two artillery men, who were invalids. After the Government had however made the full experiment of their favourite tactic of *not urging the rebels to postpone their attempts by any appearance of too much precaution and preparation of inviting rebellion*, in order to ascertain its extent, and of forcing premature explosion for the purpose of radical cure, they had now discovered, that the whole number of those in Dublin and Kildare, who would stand to the work of treason, did not, after 8 months uninterrupted preparation, exceed four score, and those of the lowest cast and most despicable character of the community. (Vide Mr. Canning's reply to Lord Castlereagh's speech.)

1803.

Judges under military escort.

Not only the general alarming state of the country, but more especially the unfortunate murder of Lord Chief Justice Kilwarden, called upon Government to afford efficient and public protection to the Judges, who were now about to go the summer circuits. It was evidently a service of alarm and danger for the Judges to go to administer justice in the different provinces, in the moment of so much agitation and confusion, as the late explosion in the capital had spread throughout the nation. The apprehensions of Government manifested in their very caution, tended to increase the evil. The unusual appearance of the Judges of *Oyer* and *Terminer* setting out for their respective circuits, under military escorts, gave room for apprehending more danger, than even existed. Each Judge, before his departure received an official letter from Sir E. B. Littlehales, the war Minister, written by command of the Lord Lieutenant on the 26th of July, inclosing the following order to the army in the districts of the respective circuits, which they had to go.

“ To the officers commanding his Majesty’s forces in the (e. g. north west) circuit of the Judges.

“ You are hereby ordered to furnish such escort as may be required by the Judges for their protection.” By order of the commander of the forces.

WILLIAM RAYMOND, D. A. G.

On the 28th of July, his Majesty sent a message to each house of Parliament, expressing the deepest regret, that a treasonable and rebellious spirit of King’s message and cautionary bills.

1796.



insurrection had manifested itself in Ireland, which had been marked by circumstances of peculiar atrocity in the City of Dublin, and anticipating their concurrence in adopting the measures best calculated to afford protection and security to his faithful subjects in Ireland, and to restore and preserve general tranquility. In consequence of that message, bills were immediately passed on that night for suspending the *Habeas Corpus* and enforcing military law in Ireland. They passed both houses unanimously. In the house of Commons, Mr. Windham proposed an amendment, (which he afterwards withdrew) that in a matter of so much consequence, they should be allowed 24 hours consideration before they passed bills of that wide discretion and severe extremity. The debate of that night was far from being uninteresting to Ireland. It drew from the prime Minister, avowals mainly illustrative of the general system of his Government, though not strictly relevant to the question then awaiting the decision of the house.

" In the first bill, said Mr. Addington, it was  
 " proposed to give the Lord Lieutenant power to  
 " order all, that were detained under certain cir-  
 " cumstances to be tried by Court Martial. But  
 " as it may not be wished to try all, that may be  
 " detained, and as persons may be taken up, whom  
 " it may not always be advisable to bring to trial;  
 " and as persons committed by civil process could  
 " not be tried by court martial, it was advisable,  
 " that there should be a power of withholding from

1803.

trial. On this ground therefore and on this only,  
he rested the suspension he meant to propose.  
He reverted with pleasure to the consideration  
of the hands, in which this power would be  
vested. During two years and a half, that Lord  
Hardwicke had held that Government in times  
of difficulty, and after the signature of the treaty  
of Amiens, while marshal law there was still  
in force; many persons advised the continuance  
of that law. You Sir, said the Chancellor of the  
Exchequer to the Speaker, you know well what  
were the sentiments, which he expressed on  
that subject; for you coincided in them, and  
participated in the merit of discontinuing the  
measure. Lord Hardwicke was anxious on the  
signing of the peace, to give up to the people the  
established form of law and justice, and the  
act was suffered to expire without renewal.  
Since that time, an eminent legal character in  
Ireland had been succeeded by a person, who  
had filled the chair of that house, (Lord  
Redesdale) but of whom he would say nothing,  
as there could be but one opinion as to his merit;  
only to observe, that Lord Hardwicke's having  
the advice of that distinguished person, afforded  
an additional pledge, that in such hands \* the

\* Little did Mr. Addington then foresee the consequence of  
boasting, that Lord Hardwicke and the Irish Government  
moved under the influence and advice of Lord Redesdale.  
Subsequent events will bring forth the policy, sentiments, and  
conduct of that nobleman towards Ireland. That was not the

1803.

“ great powers he proposed to give would be  
 “ safe.” This Minister claimed credit for having

proud day, on which Mr. Addington laid the foundation of his political sagacity. Mr. Windham observed, that “*the Right Honorable Gentleman came before them, in a sort of stamping hurry and trepidation, indicating nothing but confused and excessive alarm. He had bestowed his praises very liberally, on Chancellors, Lord Lieutenants, Speakers, &c. It seemed to be like a day of eulogy at College, where the whole business is to praise the founder and benefactors.* Ever since the renovation of hostilities with France, and the failure of Lord Melville’s negotiation for bringing back Mr. Pitt to his Majesty’s councils, Mr. Addington looked upon them both as much his opponents, as the rest of the seceders. He had for some time therefore, sought to strengthen his administration by recruits from the old opposition. The only one, who had formally enlisted under his banners was Mr. Tierney, and he had accepted of the Treasurership of the navy, as lately as the 1st of June. Mr. Addington had attempted private negotiations with several of the leading gentlemen of the old opposition; and fondly imagined, that Mr. Sheridan, in particular, would not ultimately prove inexorable. In his vast powers of repartee, wit, and eloquence, he had anticipated triumph over Messrs. Pitt, Windham, and Canning. What the Minister had not quite effected by private solicitation at his lodge in Richmond-park, where Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Erskine had, by invitation, spent a day and night, he hoped to accomplish by public adulation, from the treasury bench in St. Stevens. “ He only asked for confidence; and then it was, that the Honorable Gentleman “ (Mr. Sheridan) evinced that true public spirit and parliamentary rectitude, which had distinguished him on every trying occasion, as well on the meeting at the Nore and the scarcity, “ as the contest with the northern powers, when he said, let “ us save the ship and then try the captain. His conduct had “ been directed by a similar spirit under the threatened invasion.



advised the measure upon the strength of the facts contained in the proclamation; *but that was not all the information, which was in the possession of his Majesty's Ministers.* They had other information, which from several circumstances, it would not be right at that time to disclose, more especially, when the enemy openly avowed his designs of invasion.

1903  
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On the 4th of August, an address, signed by the most respectable Roman Catholics in and about Dublin, was presented to the Lord Lieutenant, by a deputation consisting of the Earl of Fingal and Lord Viscount Gormanstown and the Titular Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin. It expressed their utmost horror and detestation of the late

Catholics' address to the Lord Lieutenant and his answer.

"He said, he would not argue about Ministers. Let us save the country. I have not (said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, *not very sincerely*, for Messrs. Erskine and Sheridan had then spent a long day with him till 5 o'clock in the morning) the honor of being acquainted with the Honorable Gentlemen, further than that parliamentary acquaintance, which one Member generally has with another. I have not agreed with him in a great number of instances, but I venerate his conduct on every great occasion, as all true Englishmen must. It will be richly rewarded in the honorable record, which it will obtain in the page of history." The House applauded the panegyric; but Mr. Sheridan lent not his talents and virtue to support Mr. Pitt's system of Government, under the firm of *Addington and Co.* It was however, soon after falsely given out in the ministerial papers, that Mr. Sheridan had accepted of the Presidency of the Board of Controul, in the room of Lord Castlereagh, who was to go to the Admiralty.

1803.



atrocious proceedings, their attachment to the King and admiration of the constitution. It contained a special declaration, that however ardent their wish might be to participate in the full enjoyment of its benefits, they never should be brought to seek for such participation through any other medium, than that of the free unbiassed determination of the legislature. They professed to make common cause with their country in support of his Majesty's throne and Government, and to entertain a high sense of the advantages and security they enjoyed under his Excellency's mild firm and impartial administration. Lord Hardwicke's answer acknowledged his conviction of their sincerity, and his gratification in their declaration to make common cause against the designs of France, and the disturbers of internal tranquillity. It glanced not at their wish to be admitted to a participation of the benefits of the constitution, which he stood pledged to oppose; but acknowledged the pleasing manner, in which they had expressed their favourable opinion of his administration of his Majesty's Government in that country; under the guise of which he hoped to keep his observance of that pledge out of sight.

New system of severity.

Whatever may have been the grounds for charging the Irish Government with remissness, improvidence or neglect in not preventing the insurrection of the 23 of July, with all the information and means, which they possessed, it appeared to be their fixed resolve to expose themselves to no

no such charge in future. Now, that it had been proved, that after 8 months preparation, Mr. Emmett could not engage above 80 men from Leinster Munster and Connaught, nor Mr. Russell above fourteen from the whole of Ulster, a new system of suspicious severity was entered upon, that did not certainly encrease the affection and tranquillity of the country. Many persons, who had been obnoxious \* to Government or to the agents or favourites of the castle, were apprehended without any charge or ostensible cause of detention. And as it usually happens, when strong measures are resorted to by a weak Government, the subalterns, who advised them against reason, executed them without discretion. On this occasion, most of those, who upon the Secretary's warrants were thrown into Gaol, under colour of the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*, were treated with a rigorous inhumanity, which the law neither intended nor warranted.† The system of espionage was extended, and the wages of information raised.‡

\* Some of these were Mr. William Todd Jones at Cork, who was arrested on the 29th of July, and after him Messrs. Drenan, Donovan and others, Mr. Ross McCann, Bernard Coile, Mr. James Tandy and others at Dublin.

† These abuses of the state prisoners are mentioned hereafter.

‡ Not only rewards of 1000l. were offered for the information of any of the murderers of Lord Kilwarden, or his nephew Mr. Wolfe, and for the apprehension of Mr. Russell, but a reward of 50l. for each of the first one hundred rebels, who might be discovered, that were of the number, who appeared under arms in Thomas-street on Saturday night the 28d July :

1803.  
Further  
cautionary  
measures.

The whole of the yeomanry of Ireland were put upon permanent duty at the enormous expense

yet it was well known, that the whole aggregate of them did not exceed fourscore. There is no question, but that state crimes and conspiracies often render such rewards necessary for the detection of delinquents and the security of individuals or the state. Widely different is the case of affixing stated prices or wages to each conviction, as a bait to perjury, which is ever swallowed the most greedily by the most profligate. Such was the case of the notorious *Jemmy O'Brien* mentioned before. Of the like cast were two noted informers, *Michael Mahaffy*, a pedlar, and *Ryan* his partner. On the 6th of September, *Mahaffy* gave evidence against *Felix Rourke*, who was indicted and executed for high treason committed on the 23d July; *Ryan* corroborated all, that had been advanced by *Mahaffy*. These associates were in the Old Men's Hospital, Kilmainham prison, on the 24th of October following: but whether they were confined for their own deeds, or to afford them an opportunity of collecting evidence against state prisoners, of whom a great number was there reconfined under the suspension act, is not known. They however quarrelled, and *Ryan* exclaimed in the presence of several persons. *Oh! may my curse, and the curse of my children attend you Mickey Mahaffy. It was you, who made me swear away the lives of those innocent men, whom I never saw, till you marked them out for me.* They had deposed against several besides *Rourke*: to which *Mahaffy* answered, *By Jesus so long as they will find 50l. I will swear.* Then, and not till then, did those unfortunate men, who were present, feel the danger of their situation; their lives lying at the mercy of such perjured hirelings. The scene made a strong sensation throughout the prison, and the next morning *Mahaffy* and *Ryan* were removed from that apartment, and shortly after sent off entirely. Among those, who were witnesses to that quarrel, were *Matthew Dodd*, *Rourke*, a carpenter, *Jacob Knutson*, mate to a Danish Vessel from Drogheda, *Peter Magrath*, *John*

of 100,000l. per month. In Cork too precautionary measures were adopted, viz. that no one should quit the country without a passport, and that every householder should affix a list of their families and inmates on their doors, by order of General Myers, who commanded in that district. The Sovereign of Belfast issued an order, for the inhabitants to remain within their houses after 8 o'clock in the evening, and for several other regulations of strict observance. In Dublin, the magistrates convened a meeting at the suggestion of Government, at which they determined, that the City should be divided into 48 sections, each section to be divided by a *chevaux de Frise*, to prevent a surprise from pikemen, which would not at the same time prevent the fire of the musquetry of the troops and yeomanry. Of this measure, Lord Avonmore, in his address to the Grand Jury on the special commission, made honorable mention, tracing the establishment of divisional districts to the reign of Alfred.

On the 11th of August, which was the day before the Parliament was prorogued, Mr. Hutchinson brought before the Commons a motion, "that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying, that he would be graciously pleased to order, that there be laid before the house copies

Mr. Hutchinson's motion on the state of Ireland.

Perrott, and Thomas Pepard, who saved *Ryan* from being stabbed with a knife by *Mahaffy*. The Author has been assured by a witness to the whole of the scene, that it passed as it is here related, and that he knew the several persons above mentioned, who were also witnesses to it.

1503.

“ of such information, as had been received respecting the late rebellious movements in Ireland, together with copies of such information as had been received respecting the present state of that country.” This Gentleman ever alive to the interests of his country, prefaced his motion with a very impressive exposition of the state of Ireland. Often had he called on Ministers to investigate, with a due regard to the welfare of the people, their wants and desires, and if they should manifest a serious and sincere intention to satisfy them, the Empire would, from that moment, be put into a state of perfect security against foreign enmity and domestic treason. They would thereby render the Union, what it was intended, and ought to be, an act of settlement, and not a source of future revolution. He was thankful for many improvements in his country, but much yet remained to be achieved. Till the cause of internal discord were removed, till there should be no distinction of sects and factions, till there should be no name but that of *Irishman* known throughout the country, the Empire could not be deemed to be in a state of security. The Honorable Member offered the most wholesome advice, which unfortunately is still more than ever wanted. He wished a deputation to be sent to look into the state of Ireland, and to report faithfully to the house, what was her situation and what were the wants of her people. They either knew them not, or knowing, despised them. He strongly and most wisely recommended them

to send the Prince of Wales to Ireland, with emancipation in his hand. His Royal Highness had recently made the most loyal, noble and patriotic tender of his services on this critical situation of the Empire.\* The benefit of accepting of them in

1803.

\* The Honorable Member here alluded to the patriotic, spirited and constitutional application made in the course of the summer by the Prince of Wales to the crown, through the Prime Minister, for a military command, which Mr. Addington had been induced to advise the crown repeatedly to refuse. This ill-judged advice was traced to that baneful influence, which was well known to be exercised by the Duke of York upon the mind of his Royal Father. Notwithstanding the Ministers were so conscious, that the Commander-in-chief possessed not that talent or experience, nor commanded that confidence of the army and the people, which were necessary to meet the danger of invasion, that they placed in the pocket of the Marquis Cornwallis, a dormant commission, appointing him to supersede his Royal Highness and act as Commander-in-chief, from the moment the enemy should attempt a landing. For the fair exposure of the modern history of Ireland, it cannot be too frequently illustrated, that the two main points of Mr. Pitt's system were the degradation of the heir apparent, and the incapacitating of Ireland to obtain her emancipation: both of which his craft had concealed from the observation of the public, till the secret springs were deranged and discovered by his inept Journeyman and successor in office. The transaction gave rise to a correspondence of high importance, but of too much length to be here inserted. The reader will be gratified to read the two letters from the Prince to his Father, which with nervous dignity display the spirit of his Majesty's Government, and refer to his Royal Highnesses former feeling and conduct, when rebellion raged in Ireland, in 1798. These letters will afford melancholy evidence, how little reason, sound

1803. that way would be incalculable. Were the heir  
 apparent to the Crown sent on such a mission of

policy and sincerity moved the wheels of that system, which has brought the Empire to its present eventful crisis.

#### LETTER TO THE KING.

SIR,

A correspondence has taken place between Mr. Addington and myself on a subject, which deeply involves my honour and character. The answers, which I have received from that Gentleman, the communication, which he has made to the House of Commons, leave me no hope but in an appeal to the justice of your Majesty. I make that appeal with confidence, because I feel that you are my natural advocate and with the sanguine hope, that the ears of an affectionate father may still be opened to the supplications of a dutiful son.

I ask to be allowed to display the best energies of my character; to shed the last drop of my blood in support of your Majesty's Person, Crown and Dignity; for this is not a war for empire, glory or dominion, but for existence. In this contest, the lowest and humblest of your Majesty's subjects have been called on; it would therefore little become me, who am the first, and who stand at the very footstool of the Throne, to remain a tame, and idle, and lifeless spectator of the mischiefs, which threaten us, unconscious of the dangers, which surround us, and indifferent to the consequences, which may follow. Hanover is lost—England is menaced with invasion—Ireland is in rebellion—Europe is at the foot of France. At such a moment the Prince of Wales, yielding to none of your servants in zeal and devotion—to none of your subjects in duty—to none of your children in tenderness and affection, presumes to approach you, and again to repeat those offers, which he has already made through your Majesty's Ministers. A feeling of honest ambition; a sense of what I owe to myself and my family; and above all, the fear of sinking in the estimation of that gallant army, which may be the



Grace, even the most disaffected would hail the paternal love of the monarch, and be foremost in 1803.

support of your Majesty's crown, and my best hope hereafter, command me to persevere, and to assure your Majesty, with all humility and respect, that conscious of the justice of my claim, no human power can ever induce me to relinquish it.

Allow me to say, Sir, that I am bound to adopt this line of conduct by every motive dear to me as a man, and sacred to me as a Prince. Ought I not to come forward in a moment of unexampled difficulty and danger? Ought I not to share in the glory of victory, when I have every thing to lose by defeat? The highest places in your Majesty's service are filled by the younger branches of the Royal Family; to me alone no place is assigned. I am not thought worthy to be the Junior Major General to your army. If I could submit in silence to such indignities, I should indeed deserve such treatment, and prove to the satisfaction of your enemies and my own, that I am entirely incapable of those exertions, which my birth and the circumstances of the times peculiarly call for. Standing so near the Throne, when I am debased, the cause of Royalty is wounded; I cannot sink in public opinion, without the participation of your Majesty in my degradation. Therefore, every motive of private feeling, and of public duty, induce me to implore your Majesty, to review your decision, and to place me in that situation, which my birth, the duties of my station, the example of my predecessors, and the expectation of the people of England, entitle me to claim.

Should I be disappointed in the hope, which I have formed, should this last appeal to the justice of my Sovereign, and the affection of my Father fail of success, I shall lament in silent submission his determination: but Europe, the world, and posterity, must judge between us.

I have done my duty; my conscience acquits me; my reason tells me, that I was perfectly justified in the request, which I have made, because no reasonable arguments have ever

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requiring with their loyal energies his desires to relieve the wants and redress the grievances of his

been adduced in answer to my pretensions. The precedents in our history are in my favour: but if they were not, the times, in which we live, and especially the exigencies of the present moment require us to become an example to our posterity.

No other cause of refusal has or can be assigned, except that it was the will of your Majesty. To that will and pleasure I bow with every degree of humility and resignation; but I can never cease to complain of the severity, which has been exercised against me, and of the injustice, which I have suffered, till I cease to exist. I have the honour to subscribe myself with all possible devotion,

Your Majesty's

Most dutiful and affectionate

Son and Subject,

(Signed)

G. P.

Brighton, August, 6th.

FROM THE KING.

My dear Son,

Windsor, 7th August,

Though I applaud your zeal and your spirit, of which, I trust, no one can suppose any of my Family wanting; yet considering the repeated declarations I have made of my determination on your former applications to the same purpose, I had flattered myself to have heard no further on the subject. Should the implacable enemy so far succeed as to land, you will have an opportunity of showing your zeal at the head of your regiment. It will be the duty of every man to stand forward on such an occasion; and I shall certainly think it mine to set an example in defence of every thing, that is dear to me and my people.

I ever remain, dear Son,

Your most affectionate Father,

G. R.



people. This would establish the Royal family so deeply in the hearts of the whole population, that

1803.  
**FROM THE PRINCE TO THE KING.**

Sir,

Brighton, 22d Aug.

I have delayed this long an answer to the letter, which your Majesty did me the honor to write, from a wish to refer to a former correspondence, which took place between us in the year 1793. Those letters were mislaid, and some days elapsed before I could discover them; they have since been found. Allow me then, Sir, to recall to your recollection the expressions you were graciously pleased to use, and which I once before took the liberty of reminding you of, when I solicited foreign service, upon my first coming into the army. They were, Sir, that your Majesty did not then see the opportunity for it; but that if any thing was to arise at home, I ought to be "first and foremost." There cannot be a stronger expression in the English language, or more consonant to the feelings, which animate my heart. In this I agree most perfectly with your Majesty—"I ought to be first and foremost." It is the place, which my birth assigns me—-which Europe—-which the English nation expect me to fill—-and which the former assurances of your Majesty might naturally have led me to hope I should occupy. After such a declaration I could hardly expect to be told, that my place was at the head of a regiment of dragoons.

I understand from your Majesty, that it is your intention, Sir, in pursuance of that noble example, which you have ever shown during the whole course of your Reign, to place yourself at the head of the people of England.—My next Brother, the Duke of York, commands the army; the younger branches of my Family are either Generals or Lieutenant Generals; and I, who am the Prince of Wales, am to remain a Colonel of Dragoons. There is something so humiliating in the contrast, that those, who are at a distance would either doubt the reality, or suppose that to be my fault, which is only my misfortune.

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the loyalty of none of them would ever more be shaken. They would then rally round the Throne

Who could imagine that I, who am the oldest Colonel in the service, had asked for the rank of a General Officer in the army of the King, my Father, and that it had been refused me!

I am sorry, much more than sorry to be obliged to break in upon your leisure, and to trespass thus a second time on the attention of your Majesty. But I have, Sir, an interest in my character more valuable to me than the Throne, and dearer, far dearer, to me than life. I am called upon by that interest to persevere, and I pledge myself never to desist, till I receive that satisfaction, which the justice of my claim leads me to expect.

In these unhappy times, the world, Sir, examines the conduct of Princes with a jealous, scrutinising and malignant eye. No man is more aware than I am of the existence of such a disposition, and no man is therefore more determined to place himself above all suspicion.

In desiring to be placed in a forward situation, I have performed one duty to the people of England; I must now perform another, and humbly supplicate your Majesty to assign those reasons, which induced you to refuse a request, which appears to me and the world so reasonable and so rational.

I must again repeat my concern, that I am obliged to continue a Correspondence, which I fear is not so grateful to your Majesty, as I could wish. I have examined my own heart—I am convinced of the Justice of my cause—of the purity of my motives. Reason and honor forbid me to yield: where no reason is alledged, I am justified in the conclusion, that none can be given.

In this candid exposition of the feelings, which have agitated and depressed my wounded mind, I hope no expression has escaped me, which can be construed to mean the slightest disrespect to your Majesty. I most solemnly disavow any such intention;

of their gracious sovereign, offering not vainly to shed their best blood in its support. He was at a loss to conceive, why in the daily profession of new projects of defence, the person most called upon by interest and best qualified by nature to take the conspicuous and important lead, was the only person restrained from acting. To keep him thus in the back ground, was to weaken the high respect, in which the people were generally disposed to hold the monarchy, and an effort as wicked, as it was weak, to render the Prince unpopular by fixing him with an apathy for a people, to which he was most warmly attached. The motion was opposed by Ministers on the ground, that it was more than useless to demand information from Government upon the state of Ireland, without having proposed any specific measure to be ingrafted upon such information when received, and that on the very eve of a prorogation. They roundly asserted, that the Irish Government had not been

but the circumstances of the times—the danger of invasion—the appeal which, has been made to all your subjects, oblige me to recollect what I owe to mine own honor and my own character, and to state to your Majesty, with plainness, truth and candour, but with all the submission of a subject, and the duty of an affectionate son, the injuries, under which I labour, and which it is in the power of your Majesty alone at one moment to redress.

It is with sentiments of the profoundest veneration and respect, that I have the honor to subscribe myself,

Your Majesty's most dutiful,

Most obedient Son and Subject,

(Signed)

G. P.

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surprised on the 23d of July; and that the prevention of what did happen, would have taught wisdom and given strength to the rebel cause. The motion was negatived without a division.\*

Prorogation of Parliament & further caution.

On the next day after the failure of Mr. Hutchinson's motion on the state of Ireland, his Majesty prorogued the Parliament. The speech from the Throne, as far as it related to Ireland, deplored the sanguinary excesses committed by the disaffected, but his Majesty felt convinced, that the activity, the courage and the zeal of his loyal subjects would defeat any future attempt, should any be made, to disturb the tranquillity of that part of the united kingdom. The remainder of

\* This debate upon the whole was very interesting. Of that part of Mr. Hutchinson's speech, which related to the Prince, no notice was taken by any of the Ministerial party. To thwart his Royal Highness, and keep Ireland weak and divided, were the two prominent features of Mr. Pitt's domestic policy, and which his successors stood most particularly pledged to follow up. Of all the opposers of the motion, none spoke with more warmth than the Attorney General, Mr. Perceval. The conclusion of his speech on this occasion, explicitly displayed the principles of his subsequent conduct towards Ireland. His opposition to her wants and wishes has never been veiled in duplicity or in mystery. "In adverting, said he, to the measures, "that it might be necessary to take with respect to Ireland, he "trusted whenever that subject should come to be discussed, "that the house would be deeply impressed with the expediency "of guarding against the danger of alienating one part of the "community, whose affections we were sure of, in attempting "to conciliate another part, whose affections we knew we did "not possess.

the summer in Ireland, was devoted most actively <sup>1803.</sup> by Government, to the detection and bringing to condign punishment the leaders and accomplices of the late, and to the forwarding of all cautionary measures against future insurrection. Pastoral exhortations to loyalty, and the manifestation of conspiracies against the state, were read in all the Roman Catholic chapels. From the day of the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act, all magistrates were strictly enjoined to permit no one to quit the country without passports. Every house in the City and neighbourhood of Dublin were searched for arms, and several gentlemen of approved loyalty were taken into custody. Firmness of character, disapprobation of a measure of Government, opposition or offence to any servant of the castle, sufficed to procure a warrant for apprehending men of undefiled loyalty. The Commander-in-chief had it in command from the Lord Lieutenant to express to the regular forces, the Militia and Yeomanry, his Excellency's warmest approbation of the zeal, alacrity and spirit, which they had displayed in suppressing the late rebellious insurrection. Particular thanks were expressed to the Scotch Fuzileers and Liberty Rangers for their marked zeal and exertions, and most special injunctions were enforced upon all the military to refrain from any act of severity or violence beyond what the faithful discharge of military duty should render absolutely indispensable.

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Apprehension, trial and execution of Emmett.

Mr. Emmett after the disgrace, failure and horror of the night of the 23d of July fled with his whole staff to the Wicklow mountains, where he remained concealed for about a week, imposing upon the inhabitants, of whom they rather extorted than solicited refuge and support; they were in all about fourteen, armed with swords and fire locks, and they passed themselves for French Officers. Mr. Emmett himself on the 8th day after his escape, returned under the name of Hewit to his old lodgings at Harold's-cross, where during a whole month, he eluded the vigilance of Government and the police, without attempting any new project of insurrection, that has come to light. He was at last taken by Major Sirr, who, having procured information of his residence, rushed unexpectedly into the house, as he was sitting down to dinner; he attempted to escape through a back window, but was pursued and secured by Major Sirr.\* A special commission was opened to try the offenders in the City and County of Dublin on the 31st August, under Lord Norbury, Mr. Justice Finucane and Barons George and Daly. Twenty†

\* This Gentleman's activity and intrepidity were rewarded by a piece of plate of the value of 100 Guineas, from the patriotic fund of Ireland. Pieces of plate of 50 guineas each were granted from the same fund to Captains Bloxam, Coultman, Douglass, and Brady, and Mr. Wilson, the peace officer, with inscriptions expressive of their spirited and meritorious services to the public on the night of the 23d of July.

† The names of the persons put on their trial were Robert Emmett, Edward Kearney, Thomas Maxwell Roche, Owen



were tried on different days, one of whom was acquitted and another respited. The rest were 1803.

Kirwan, James Byrn, John Beggs, Denis Lambert Redmond, (respited) Felix Rourke, John Killen, John M'Cann, Jos. Doran, (acquitted) Thomas Donelly, Laurence Begley, Nicholas Tyrrell, Michael Kelly, John Hay, Henry Howley, John M'Intosh and Thomas Keenan. Nothing new came out in evidence at the trials or at the time of execution, which illustrates or confirms the history of that ephemeral insurrection, excepting with reference to John M'Intosh, who, before his execution, discovered to Mr. Sheriff Pouden a secret door in the house in Patrick-street, which opened into a select depot, where were found above 300 pikes of a peculiar construction, which being formed of several joints, would fold up in so narrow a compass as to be easily concealed under a great coat, and would let out to the length of 6 or 7 feet. There was also found there a quantity of sulphur, and other matter of mischievous preparation. Dr. Gamble told this man in his cell, that Emmett had confessed to him in his latter moments, that he had but 80 men on the night of the insurrection, upon whom he could depend. M'Intosh acknowledged that was the fact, and that he was one of them. There was found in the house, from which Mr. Emmett was taken at Harold's-cross an unfinished manuscript to the following effect. It bespeaks reflection and tenderness to those, whom he had seduced.

“ It may seem strange, that a person avowing himself to be an enemy of the present Government, and engaged in a conspiracy for its overthrow, should undertake to suggest an opinion on its conduct, or expect, that advice from such a quarters should be received with attention. The writer of this, however, does not mean to offer an opinion upon a point, in which he feels difficulty—on which his candour might be doubted; his intention is to confine himself to points, on which he feels with the mercifully and as an Irishman with the English part of the present Government. He will communicate in the most precise

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executed. All, except Mr. Emmett, were persons in the low walks of life, without education or other means of subsistence than by the labour of their hands. The unfortunate Mr. Emmett, who was gifted with brilliant talents, which were absorbed in his enthusiasm, was the son of an eminent physician, originally from Cork, afterwards one of the state physicians in Dublin. At his trial the several facts and circumstances already narrated were fully proved; he called no witnesses and was found guilty. When put to the bar and called upon by the Clerk to the Crown to offer what he had to say, why judgment of death and execution should not be awarded against him according to law, he rose

terms the line of conduct, which he may be hereafter compelled to adopt—and which, however painful, would be doubly so, if he did not try to avoid it by the most explicit notification. It is not the intention of the undersigned to do more than state what the Government must acknowledge, that of the conspiracy it knows nothing; and instead of creating terror in its enemies and confidence in its friends, it will serve by the scantiness of its information to furnish new grounds of conviction to those, who are too ready to accuse it for the want of that intelligence, which no sagacity could enable it to obtain. If, then, it is unable by a display of discoveries to evince its strength and vigilance, it cannot hope to crush the Conspiracy by the weight of its power. Is it only now, that men have to learn, that entering into a conspiracy exposes them to be hanged? \* \* \* \* \* Can it hope to injure the body of a conspiracy, so impenetrably woven as the present, by merely cutting off a few of the threads? \* \* \* \* \* No system can change the conduct, which the U. I. will adopt for effecting the emancipation of their country.”

with great firmness and composure, and delivered a speech of considerable length, and would have extended it to a much greater, had not Lord Norbury thought he could not sit in Court to hear any man proclaim treason, and endeavour by his talents, which he admitted to be very great in the prisoner, to captivate and delude the unwary, and give circulation to opinions and principles of the most pernicious tendency. Then said Mr. Emmett, *I have nothing more to say, if I am not permitted to vindicate myself.\** Lord Norbury pathetically

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\* Mr. Ridgeway's report of this trial is the most authentic. Mr. Marsden procured a report of all those trials to be published in a very garbled manner, with a preface, introduction and conclusion, which bespeak the tendency of the publication. It ends with these words. "The dark page of domestic crime will be relieved and brightened by the proofs of a wise and humane policy; and amongst the British advisers of the good Lord Hardwicke, the names of a *Redesdale* and a *Wickham* will be remembered with gratitude and esteem." The last words, which Mr. Ridgeway took from the lips of Mr. Emmett are too important to be suppressed. "I beg pardon—I wish to mention one circumstance, which is to state expressly, that I did not come from France" (he met his Brother at Bruxelles) "I did not create the conspiracy—I found it when I arrived here—I was solicited to join it—I took time to consider of it, and was told expressly, that it was no matter, whether I did join or not, it would go on—I then, finding my principles accord with the measures, did join it; and under the same circumstances would do so again." The infatuation, which drove Mr. Emmett into that fatal attempt without adequate means of success, left him not in

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addressed the prisoner before he pronounced the awful sentence. Mr. Emmett listened composedly,

his last moments, when not even a shade of possible success could longer flatter his enthusiasm. Braving his fate, he expressed a lively anxiety to clear his character from having lent himself as a tool to France. As many fabricated reports of that unfortunate young man's last speech have been circulated for various purposes of deception, the author thinks it an act of justice to the public to offer the most authentic report of it, which was taken down in short hand, as it was delivered, and which several persons, who heard it have assured him is substantially correct. It is an awful lesson to check the enthusiasm of youth, and curb the disloyalty of maturer age.

"Why sentence of death and execution should not be pronounced against me, I have nothing to say. But why my name and character should not be transmitted to posterity, loaded with the foulest obloquy, I have much to say. A man in my situation has to combat with not only the difficulties of fortune, but those too of prejudice. The sentence of the law, which delivers over his body to the executioner, consigns his name to obloquy. The man dies, but his memory lives. And that mine may not forfeit all claim to the respects of my countrymen, I use this occasion to vindicate myself from some of the charges brought against me. Let what I have to say and the few observations I shall make as to my principles and motives, glide down the surface of the stream of your recollection, till the storm shall have subsided, with which it is already buffeted.

Were I to suffer death only after having been adjudged guilty, I should bow my neck in silence to the stroke. But \*

\* \* \* \* \*

I am accused of being an emissary of France; of being an agent for that country, in the heart of my own—It is false—I am no emissary—I did not wish to deliver up my country to a foreign power, and least of all to France—I am charged

bowed respectfully, and retired. Being a protestant of the established church, he was attended in his

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with being a conspirator, with being a member of the Provisional Government—I avow it!—I am a conspirator!—I am, and have been engaged in a conspiracy, of which the whole object is the freedom of this country—It never was, never could be our design to deliver over our country into the hands of the French—No! from the introductory paragraph of the proclamation of the Provisional Government, it is evident, that every hazard attending an independent effort, was deemed preferable to the more fatal risque of introducing a French force into this country—And here, my Lords, I must take notice of an error in reasoning committed by the Attorney General in his statement of the case; wherein he used the plan of the Provisional Government having been formed previous to the arrival of the French, as an argument to prove, that their views were necessarily directed to their assistance. The direct reverse is the obvious conclusion.—The object of the Provisional Government on the contrary was, to act as a check on, by treating with the invader—It was to put forward a body of men, who should stipulate certain conditions for their country with the French—not yeild implicitly to their victorious commands. Small indeed would be our claims to patriotism, palpable our affectation of the love of liberty, were we to encourage the profanation of our shores by a people, who are slaves themselves, and the unprincipled and abandoned instruments of imposing slavery upon others. If such an inference be drawn from any part of the proclamation of the Provisional Government, it calumniates its views, and is not warranted by the fact. What, yeild to them! Heaven forbid it: No, look to the proclamation of the Provisional Government, to the military articles attached to it—is there a sentence there, that will bear such a construction? How could we speak of freedom to our countrymen? How assume such an exalted

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confinement, and at the place of his execution by the Rev. Dr. Gamble. He was executed according

motive and meditate the introduction of a power, which has been the enemy of freedom in every part of the Globe?—When we review the conduct of France towards other countries, could we expect better from her towards us?—Look to Holland, look to Italy, look to Switzerland, to every country, through which she has pushed her victories! Let not any man attain my memory by believing, I could hope for freedom through the aid of France, and betray the sacred cause of liberty by committing it to the power of her most determined foe. Had I done so, I had not deserved to live, and dying with such a weight upon my character, I had merited the honest execrations of that country, which gave me birth, and to which I would have given freedom. Had I been in Switzerland, I would have fought against the French! In the dignity of freedom, would have expired on the threshold of that country, and their only entrance to it should have been over my lifeless corpse! Were I in any country, whose people were adverse to their principles, I would take up arms against them. But if the people were not adverse to them; neither would I fight against the people. Is it then to be supposed I would be slow to make the same sacrifice to my native land? Am I, who have lived but to be of service to my country, who would subject myself even to the bondage of the grave to give her independence, am I to be loaded with the foul and grievous calumny of being an emissary of France?—Were my country once freed from the yoke of England, had my countrymen a country to defend, then should a foreign foe attempt to invade them, would I call on them? “Be united and fear no force without. Look not to your arms. Oppose them with your hearts. Wait not their attack; but run to your shores and meet them. Receive them with all the destruction of war, and immolate them in their very boats; nor let your land be polluted by the foe. With the sword in one hand, and the torch.

to his sentence, in Thomas-street, the day after his trial, in the 24th year of his age. 1803.

in the other, oppose and force them, with patriotism, love of liberty and with courage. Should you fail, should your love of country, your love of liberty, and courage not prevail, in your retreat lay waste your country—with your torch burn up every blade of grass—raise every house—contend to the last for every inch of ground in ruin—conduct your women and children to the heart and centre of your country—place them in the strongest hold—surround them and defend them till but two of you remain, and when of those two one falls, let him, that survives apply the torch to the funeral pile of his country, and leave the invader nothing but ashes, and desolation for his plunder.”

I am also accused of ambition. Oh my countrymen! Was it ambition that influenced me, I might now rank with the proudest of your oppressors. (He was here interrupted by Lord Norbury, who told him he had abused the indulgence of the court; that he could not sit there to hear such language. The Government of the country was too firm to be removed by the plans of any wild and misled enthusiast, &c.) My Lord, I have always understood it was the duty of a Judge, when a prisoner was convicted to pronounce the sentence of the law. I have also understood, that a Judge sometimes thought it his duty to hear with patience, and speak with humanity, to deliver an exhortation to the prisoner. You say I am the keystone, the lifeblood and soul of this conspiracy. On my return to Ireland this conspiracy was already formed. I was solicited to join it. I asked for time to consider, and the result of my deliberation was, that it appeared to me the only means of saving my country. My Lord, I acted but a subaltern part. There are men, who manage it far above me. You say, that in cutting me off, you cut off its head and destroyed the gem of future conspiracy and insurrection. 'Tis false. This conspiracy will exist, when I am no more. It will

1803.

Trials in  
the North,  
Mr.  
Russell,

Special commissions for the Counties of Down and Antrim, were opened under Mr. Baron George

be followed by another more strong, and another rendered still stronger by foreign assistance. Nay, there is at this moment an agent, of the Provisional Government in Paris, who is empowered to negociate for an expedition, but who has positive orders not to suffer that expedition to sail, till a guarantee of your liberties is executed by the French Government, similar to that obtained by Franklin for America. (He was here again interrupted by Lord Norbury, who said he should proceed to pass the sentence of the law, that instead of atoning for his offences, he was encouraging sedition, by holding out seditious wild and chimerical hopes of foreign invasion and to intimidate the loyal, &c.) Think not my Lord, that I say this for the petty gratification of giving you a transitory uneasiness. A man, who never yet raised his voice to assert a lie, will not hazard his character with posterity by advancing a falsehood on a subject so important. Again I say, that what I have spoken is not intended for your Lordship. It is meant as a consolation to my countrymen. If there be a true Irishman present, let my last words cherish him in the hour of affliction. (He was here interrupted again by Lord Norbury, who told him, that instead of advancing any thing in his justification, he continued to speak nothing but treason and sedition; said, his (Emmett's) family had produced men of great talent, and that he himself was not the meanest of them. He had just then afforded them proof, and lamented the situation he had reduced himself to, &c.) After thanking the Judge for his compliments to his family he proceeded.

My Lord, I did not mean to utter treason. I did not mean to use seditious language. I did not even seek to exculpate myself. I did only endeavour to explain the obvious principles, on which I acted without even so much as an attempt at their application. Where is the boasted freedom of your constitution?



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and Mr. Justice Osborne; that for Downshire, at Downpatrick, on the 10th of October; that for Antrim, at Carrickfergus, on the 19th. Mr Russell was tried and convicted at Downpatrick on the 20th of October, to which day the commission had adjourned from the 10th. He declined calling

Where the impartiality, mildness and clemency of your courts of Justice? If a wretched culprit, about to be delivered over to the executioner be not suffered to vindicate his motives from the aspersions of calumny? You, my Lord, are the Judge; I am the culprit. But you, my Lord, are a man, and I am another. And as a man, to whom fame is dearer than life, I will use the last moments of that life in rescuing my name and memory from the foul and odious imputations thrown upon them. *If the spirit of the illustrious dead can witness the scenes of this transitory life, dear shade of my venerable father, look down with a virtuous scrutiny on your suffering son, and see, has he deviated for a moment from those morals and patriotic lessons, which you taught him, and which he now dies for.* As to me, my Lords, I have been sacrificed on the altar of truth and liberty. There have I extinguished the torch of friendship and offered up the idol of my soul. The object of my affections. There have I parted with all, that could be dear to me in this life, and nothing now remains to me, but the cold honors of the grave. My lamp of life is nearly extinguished. My race is finished, and the grave opens to receive me. All I request at my departure from this world, is the charity of its silence. Let no man write my epitaph. No man can write my epitaph. And as no man, who knows my motives dares to vindicate them; so let no man, who is ignorant of them, with prejudice asperse them, till my country has taken her rank amongst the nations of the earth. Then only can my epitaph be written, and then alone can my character be vindicated.—I have done.

1803.

any witness in his defence, and allowed the case to go to the Jury, on the evidence adduced on the part of the Crown, who, in some minutes returned a verdict, guilty. The prisoner having been asked, as usual, what he had to offer to the court, why sentence should not pass upon him? He addressed the court in an eloquent and impressive speech of about 20 minutes, in which he took a view of the principal transactions of the last thirteen years of his life, to which he boasted of looking back retrospectively with satisfaction and triumph. He endeavoured to vindicate his conduct from any criminality, and confidently asserted, that in all he had done, he had acted upon the conviction of his conscience; and anxiously entreated the court to make him the only victim on the present occasion: mercifully sparing the lives of those unfortunate men, whose seduction was laid at his door. Mr. Baron George made a moving address to the prisoner, particularly upon the abusive misapplication of his credit and talents; and then pronounced the usual sentence, to which Mr. Russell listened with firm composure, then bowed respectfully, and retired in the custody of the Sheriff. He was executed according to his sentence, at Downpatrick, on the next day. At the adjourned commission at Carrickfergus, Andrew Hunter and David Potter were successively tried and convicted on the 24th and 25th of October, and were both executed on the 26th. On the same day the commission closed, leaving the other prisoners, against whom indictments had been found

to be tried at the next assizes. Nothing was proved against any of the three, beyond the preparation and circulation of Mr. Russell's proclamation, coupled with some vague expectation of a rising in Dublin about that time. 1803.

The whole conduct of the Hardwicke administration, with reference to the insurrections of Emmett and Russell, was marked with the basest traits of drivelling imbecility. The preparations and intentions of Emmett were known to thousands, and publicly spoken of, in and about Dublin, Kildare and Wexford. Emmett would not have a man sworn in; conceiving oaths unnecessary to those, who were hearty in the cause, useless to the traitor, and advantageous to the enemy. As the Government could no where trace any secret oaths, they ineptly concluded, there could be no secret conspiracy going forward. When however the explosion had taken effect, with less mischief to the public, than could have been devised by the wisest, the shallow agents of Government displayed their folly in the most extravagant, wicked and senseless devise. A young adventurer by the name of Houlton, not unobservant of the passing scenes, speculated upon the weakness of the Government, and after the danger was over, after the accomplices had fled, and when the civil and military powers throughout the nation were on the alert, he intimated to Mr. Secretary Marsden, that he had information of the greatest importance to impart. The intimation procured him instant

Peculiar imbecility of Government.

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admission to the privy council; which assembled with Lord Redesdale at their head, and gave easy credit to his report, that there then was a fleet of smugglers and Fishermen closely stowed with the elite of Russell's insurgents, in full sail from Belfast to surprise the Pidgeon House, and thence to proceed to the castle. He gained further credit by anticipating what he could himself achieve, and they agreed to equip him instantly with a Rebel General's uniform and a superb hat and feathers, and send him down to Belfast to tempt, proselytize, deceive and betray. Whatever further game Mr. Houlton had to play, may not be known; but he affected great modesty and moderation before the council, stating, that one hundred guineas would answer his first and immediate objects; suggesting, that private instructions could follow him to Belfast to supply him at call for any unforeseen emergency. Lord Redesdale sympathised with the zeal of this missionary, and pressed five hundred guineas upon him in the first instance, observing, that he could do nothing with one hundred guineas, and gave an assurance, that thousands should not be wanting, if he found occasion for them. About the time, that this adventurous informer was fully equipped for his mission; instructions were prepared to be sent to Sir Charles Ross, who then commanded at Belfast, to apprize him, that the Rebel General was a confidential servant of the castle, and was not to be interrupted in his progress of temptation and seduction; but was to be aided and assisted,

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as he should desire and suggest. He was a man of their own; and of full discretion and prudence. The express was forwarded by an ordinary Dragoon. Mr. Houlton conceived he could not arrive too soon, or do too much honor to his mission extraordinary and plenipotentiary. He travelled in a Post chaise and four, and arrived at Belfast, even with occasional stoppages and deviations, a considerable time before the Dragoon. Soon after his arrival, Mr. Houlton opened his mission in very confident and bold language in a Tavern, in so much, that when Sir Charles Ross was informed of it, he caused him to be apprehended, and paraded round the town in his General's uniform, hat and feathers, (which cost 7 guineas and a half in Dublin) and he was then committed to gaol. In a very short time after his confinement, Sir Charles Ross received his instructions from the castle. But then the plot was marred; and to expose the Government as little as possible, he was transmitted under a military escort to Dublin, and there confined amongst the state prisoners in Kilmainham. The particulars of these facts were made known to his fellow prisoners, partly from himself, and partly through others. Some of them showed a disposition to treat him rather harshly, as a spy and informer. He endeavoured to palliate his conduct, by boasting, that his original plan was to dupe the Government, by getting some thousands of pounds into his pocket, and then to abscond. He was not fully credited by his fellow

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prisoners, and always kept himself closely shut up from night-fall. He was at last removed from Kilmainham, and soon after shipped off with an inconsiderable appointment to keep him on the Coast of Africa.

System of  
secret ri-  
gor.

The autumn of the year 1803 was a season of coercive terror, which disgraced the ostentatious mildness of Lord Hardwicke's Administration, almost as much as the spring of 1798 was of bloody cruelty, that contaminated the forcious government of Lord Cambden. There was more method and artful security in practising the latter, than the former. The object in 1798 was, to goad irritation by open outrage, with a view to weaken the people into degradation; that of 1803 to revenge by gradual and private torture, with the insidious intent of perpetuating division under the mockery of liberality. The loyalty of the Irish people was fairly to be then appraized by the extreme paucity of those, who yielded to the opportunity and importunity of rebelling. The field of action was not attended by one hundred delinquents, and the gaols were crowded with many hundreds, who resisted the temptation and preserved their loyalty. It sufficed now to have survived the torture, to have escaped the perjury of the suborned informer, to have withstood the malice or displeasure of an under Secretary, or of his Clerk, or of his runner, to be consigned to a dungeon, not merely for safe custody, but for torture without consciousness of a cause, without show of pretext, without means of appeal, with-

1803.

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out prospect of redress. Lord Hardwicke had accepted of the Viceroyalty of Ireland, with full instruction to resist her emancipation; a principle he dared not openly avow; but committed the internal execution of his commands to Mr. Alex. Marsden, a man thoroughly drilled to that sort of service. Mr. Marsden found in Dr. Trevor, the inspector of prisons, an useful, trusty and expert executioner of his designs, within the impervious boundaries of his inquisitorial mission.\* So true is it, that in most practical instances, duplicity and weakness in a Government produce more national evil, than downright wickedness.

\* Sensible, that general charge and invective come not within the province of the historian, the Author felt it his duty to inform the reader, that at this time commenced a new system of gradual inquisitorial torture in prison, which will be more minutely developed in the sequel, as the results of that system were brought before Parliament, the courts of law and the Government of the country. Suffice it here to observe, that there are many surviving victims of these inhuman and unwarrantable confinements, who without having been charged with any crime, or tried for any offence, have from this period, undergone years of confinement and incredible afflictions and sufferings, under the full conviction, that they were inflicted from motives of personal resentment, and for the purpose of depriving them of life. The detail of these enormities have been set forth in their memorial to Government, verified by affidavits in the courts of law, and proved by full evidence before a Parliamentary Committee. Certain is it, that the mysterious inconclusiveness of each of those proceedings does not negative the facts, which gave them rise,

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General  
conduct of  
official  
men.

The short recess of Parliament opened the eyes and mouths of the public upon the alarming state of the nation. The unstatesmanlike fears of ministers headed the cry of immediate invasion; the more reflecting shuddered at the prospect of a protracted war; most men saw with indignant contempt the duplicity and treachery of that system, which the impotent puppets of the late ministry were as unable to effectuate, as men of virtue were unwilling to support. The few, whose wisdom saw, and whose virtue stood up for the real interests of their country, loudly reprobated, and vilified those wretched dupes and deceivers, who were thus plunging the nation into interminable warfare. They anticipated imaginary armaments in the French ports, they soothed the Parliament with assurances of lasting peace on the very eve of an intended rupture; they congratulated the public upon the tranquillity of Ireland, whilst an insurrection was hatching under the walls of the castle, and they now weakly or wickedly boasted, that it had not surprised them. In the midst of this despondency and alarm of an indignant public, the minister both in public and private, pitifully courted support by personal civilities and condescensions to every one, he thought likely to aid his resistance to the threatened opposition of Mr. Pitt. That fallen statesman finding more obstacles raised against his resumption of the power he had so unaccountably abandoned, was driven to regain by assault, what he had capitulated should be returned to him by



cession. He was as consistent in his duplicity, as he was insatiable in his lust for rule. He treacherously charged his deputy, Mr. Addington, with having counteracted his instructions, and forfeited his pledge, and thenceforth became the most acrimonious reviler of his own measures, when carried into effect by his pusillanimous and imbecile substitute. He had now had nearly three years leisure to observe and reflect upon the working of his system, and sought to throw off the dreadful accountability of it's fatal result from his own to the shoulders of his degraded deputy. The nation was clamorous for a change in the cabinet; some wished that his Majesty, would call Mr. Fox and his friends to his councils, as the only real opposers of the long prevailing system of the double cabinet; more sighed for the return of Mr. Pitt, and a very respectable portion of the people longed to form a combination of all the great political talents of the country.

Under these various impressions his Majesty convened his parliament on the 22d of November, and in his speech from the throne, took notice, that in Ireland, the leaders and the several inferior agents "in the late traiterous and atrocious conspiracy" had been brought to justice, and the public tranquillity had experienced no further interruption." The rest of the speech chiefly referred to the active and successful co-operation of his Majesty with his faithful people in the vigorous prosecution of the war. It displayed the lustre of the British arms in

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Parliament  
convened.  
King's  
speech and  
address.

1805.

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the captures of the Islands of St. Lucia, Tobago, St. Pierre and Miquelon and the settlements of Demerary and Essequibo, and fully anticipated the destruction of any force, which the enemy might by eluding the vigilance of our fleet and cruizers, throw upon our coasts. In the Lords the address was moved by the Marquis of Sligo and seconded by the Earl of Limerick. Both these noble Lords, who owed their titles to the union, spoke confidently of their local and experimental knowledge of the state of Ireland, and pledged their conviction to the house, that notwithstanding the late insurrection had been raised by French intrigue, yet French fraternization was now so justly appreciated throughout the country, that if the enemy were to attempt a descent upon it, he would meet with a vigorous resistance from every rank and every persuasion of its inhabitants. Lord Limerick entertained the house with a bombastic eulogy of the Irish yeomanry corps, and recommended the transportation of the Irish militia into England, which would keep up the spirit of the union, and ensure their good behaviour. The address in the Lords was carried without a division ; as it also was in the Commons. Mr. Fox, who well knew the value and importance, and never omitted to forward as far as he could the welfare and happiness of Ireland, charged the Government with want of candour, in endeavouring to convey an idea, that it was the intention of the rebels in Ireland to put that country into the hands of France, when such a design had

been so strongly disavowed by their leaders. "It <sup>1808.</sup>  
" was not, he added, to be hoped or expected, that  
" as long as grievances existed, Ireland could become  
" loyal, and he sincerely hoped, that the house would  
" not, by confiding in words, leave her exposed to  
" a repetition of those scenes, that had lately occur-  
" ed. They should have something more solid than  
" assurances, on which to ground their belief of  
" returning loyalty, and he sincerely hoped, they  
" would do what rested with them to obtain it."

Mr. Addington affirmed, that all the persons con-  
cerned in the late insurrection could not with truth  
affirm, that they did not mean to further the views  
of the French Government. He concluded there-  
fore, that the People of Ireland would be led to  
compare the different principles of the two Govern-  
ments, by which they would learn to appreciate  
the blessings of their own constitution, and to  
foresee the miseries, which any change would bring  
upon them. That was not the moment for consi-  
dering the great questions touching the situation of  
the Irish people. " Upon the propriety of keeping  
" their minds free from any prejudice upon this  
" subject, it was not necessary to give any pledge.  
" He certainly would keep his mind in an unpreju-  
" diced state, and if the subject should be brought  
" into discussion, he would listen attentively to  
" the arguments of others, and state temperately  
" his own opinions." Such was the declaration of  
the man, who held his office by the tenure of

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pledged opposition to Catholic Emancipation. He had the further weakness to profess, that he entertained the most sanguine hopes, that by comparing the miseries of the French Government with the happiness of their own, the people of Ireland would shed their blood in support of the British constitution, when they were officially assured in the same moment, that its very quintessence precluded them from the enjoyment of *its boasted excellency*.

Renewal of  
coercion &  
debates  
thereon.

Ireland had been too deeply and too recently wounded not to arrest a great portion of the attention of the legislature at the commencement of this session. Very interesting debates took place respecting Ireland, whilst Mr. Yorke's two bills for continuing the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* and for suppressing rebellion by martial law in that country, were in progress through the houses. Mr. Yorke referred the house to the proceedings on the trials under the special commissions for full information, whereupon to found their judgment as to the nature and extent of the conspiracy. Yet was it upon the strength of the secret information, which Government did not think proper to disclose, that he urged the house to consent. Mr. Hutchinson and several other friends of Ireland, though they gave Ministers credit for the necessity of the measure in that instance, loudly complained of their determined obstinacy in refusing to go upon the state of Ireland. Mr. Addington consumed several hours in attempting to prove, that Government

had not been surprised on the 23d of July, that every necessary and proper caution had been taken both by the civil and military officers, and in magnifying the preparations, extent and danger of that rebellion. Mr. Wilberforce, though a general supporter of Ministers, admitted the system of governing Ireland to be so defective and mischievous, that he voted only for the measure in full expectation, that instead of these acts of temporary policy, some broad and liberal system of enlarged justice and political wisdom would be immediately adopted in that country. The idea was warmly taken up by Mr. Hutchinson, who went the length of threatening Ministers with impeachments, if they delayed the measure longer, than was absolutely unavoidable. Mr. Addington and Mr. Yorke vehemently urged the house to give them credit in assuring them, that though the leaders of the late insurrection were not immediately connected with the French Government, they were yet connected with Irish traitors abroad, who held immediate intercourse with that Government. It was however obvious to the unbiassed and independent from the result of all, that had happened, that the body of insurgency in Ireland, whether aided by the mediate or immediate resources of the enemy commanded but contemptible influence and power in the country. Yet it pleased the English Minister to renew the coercive system, and keep the Irish people deprived of their constitutional

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rights, as if rebellion raged through the nation, and the houses agreed to it without a division. Such in fact was at this time the state of political parties in the senate, that business of the highest importance passed almost as a matter of course, without serious opposition. The views and conduct of the different parties hitherto had been much more palpable, than creditable to any of them. Mr. Pitt and several of his personal friends, had thrown their weight into the scale of administration, whilst the substituted Ministers could carry on the system without exposing it too broadly to the contempt of an indignant nation. The old opposition had in a body given their support to Government upon the ground of preventing the return of Mr. Pitt to office, which they considered as the achme of national disaster. Mr. Addington himself conscious of this negative security from attack, was daily observed assiduously bowing and shaking hands in apparent cordiality with men of all parties, resting his whole security, not upon the vigour and wisdom of his measures, but upon the division of his opponents. Some few had forced themselves into his imbecile service by threats or fawning; others indeed aiming at a middle course had brought themselves into an embarrassed situation; they had gone too far to fall back into opposition, and not far enough to get into place. Mr. Pitt absented himself from Parliament, playing the soldier at the head of his *cinqueport* volunteers, while his co-seceders were labouring in the senate to shift the

accountibility for the calamitous state of the Empire from the weakness and wickedness of the system, which had brought it on, to the ignorance and imbecillity of the man, who had latterly executed it.

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Other bills, which bespoke the distressful state of Ireland, were brought before the Parliament; such were the Irish Bank restriction bill, that commonly called the silver note bill, for prohibiting their circulation, and a bill to indemnify the Lord Lieutenant and Council for having undertaken upon their own authority, to prohibit by proclamation the distillation from oats. Admiral Berkely gave notice of a motion, which he intended to make for an enquiry into the causes of the recal\*

Further  
acts of the  
legislature.

\* The conduct of Lord Hardwicke's Government to General Fox, is peculiarly illustrative of its duplicity and weakness. The truth of it rests upon the most unimpeachable authority; that of his brother, the Right Hon Charles James Fox, whom his bitterest enemy never charged with a willful misstatement of facts. (Vide Rep. of the debate on Sir John Wrottesley's motion, p. 43.) "An Honorable relation of mine (Admiral Berkely) did give notice of a motion, concerning his (General Fox) recal from Ireland, which however he afterwards declined bringing forward; having stated, that it was not the wish of that officer to have any enquiry entered into concerning him, if a declaration were made on the part of his Majesty's Government, that his conduct was approved of; such a declaration has been made, and made in a manner, which to him is satisfactory. If infamy or blame therefore rest in any quarter, it does not rest with him; he stands clear of it by the judgment, which Ministers have pronounced on his conduct. As no blame therefore attaches

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of General Fox, which however he afterwards abandoned. He was succeeded in the chief command of the forces in Ireland by Lord Cathcart.

“ on the Commander-in-chief, do his Majesty’s ministers now  
 “ defend themselves, or the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland?  
 “ Suppose it should be said, that no blame could attach either  
 “ to the Lord Lieutenant or the Commander-in-chief; be it so  
 “ for argument. But I must say, that a coolness did take  
 “ place between them, which made it impossible for both to  
 “ continue together in Ireland; and it required, that either the  
 “ one or the other should retire from his situation. It is ne-  
 “ cessary to observe, that for many days not only previous to,  
 “ but after the 23d of July, they were under the best under-  
 “ standing with each other. But as soon as the Lord Lieutenant  
 “ found, that the conduct of the Irish Government, on the  
 “ occasion of the insurrection, was loudly complained of and  
 “ censured all over England, he was unfortunately advised to  
 “ throw the blame of the transaction off himself, and lay it on  
 “ the Commander-in-chief. It was then coolness began, and  
 “ then the resignation of my Honorable Relative took place.  
 “ Though this retirement from his situation were called a resigna-  
 “ tion, I say, it was not a voluntary resignation. The language  
 “ he used was this. *I desire you would recal me from my com-  
 “ mand, if the Lord Lieutenant say, I ought to be recalled.*  
 “ He was actually recalled, and he did not come away volunta-  
 “ rily. But what was the effect of such recal? Nothing less,  
 “ than giving the public to understand, that the Commander-  
 “ in-chief had neglected his duty,” Mr. Fox then complained  
 of several most illiberal and unfounded reflections cast upon his  
 brother in the Dublin Journal, (Mr. Giffard’s paper) which was  
 as much under the controul of the Castle, as the *Moniteur* was  
 under the direction of the French Government. “ When I  
 “ see, continued Mr. Fox, such things as these published in a  
 “ Government Paper, which dares not insert them without  
 “ authority, what other inference can I make, than except, that



In proportion as the contest was kept up about the blame, devolving upon some department of <sup>1803.</sup> Dwyer surrenders to Mr. Hume.

“ they were designedly published, in order to remove a great degree of odium from one party, by throwing it on another ? “ And this general conclusion results from the whole, that there “ is a consciousness of great blame having existed some where. “ There is proof of a personal nature, namely, that General “ Fox was recalled for the purpose of exculpating the Irish “ Government, by throwing the blame on him. And there is “ another inference of a public nature, which is, that the “ Irish Government knows the point, with regard to exculpation, “ to be untenable ; that they cannot prove, that every thing “ was done that ought to have been done.” If the blood of Lord Kilwarden and of all the others, which was spilt on the 23d of July, could have been prevented by any cautionary measures, it is evident, that the blame of non-prevention must lie at the doors of the Viceroy, the Commander-in-chief Mr. Marsden, Mr. Clarke, or some other of Mr. Marsden’s subordinate purveyors of secret information. A warm contest arose out of the recal of General Fox, and Mr. Marsden published a pamphlet in exculpation of himself, the Lord Lieutenant and all others, who had moved by his direction. For about six weeks previous to the explosion, there had subsisted a coolness and difference on behalf of the active part of the Government towards General Fox. Affrays had happened between unarmed citizens and soldiers, who usually wore their side arms or bayonets, in which some of the citizens were grievously wounded. General Fox, thereupon issued a general order, that in future no soldier should wear his side arms, unless on duty. Evidently, a wise precaution to prevent the military from acting against an oppressed and inflamed people, otherwise than under command. It was however an order not in the spirit of the system, and therefore disrelished at the castle. After the 23d of July, the Agents of the surprised Government most weakly attempted to convert this prudent order of the Com-

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Government with reference to the disgraceful night of the 28d of July, were the eyes of the public fixed upon the conduct of Government; and the ingenuity of the more active instruments of the Castle was racked, to convince the people, that they had not been invested with so many extraordinary powers in vain. Few days past without some fresh arrests of suspected persons, who were called *state prisoners*, and were divided into different classes. A reward of £500 was proclaimed for the person of the noted

mandar-in-chief into a direct encouragement of rebellion. To this shyness or jealousy on behalf of Government must be attributed their suppression from General Fox, of some minute and very unequivocal symptoms of immediate preparation for insurgency, which although they were in possession of, occasioned not a single cautionary step of prevention on their part. On the night of the explosion in Patrick-street, which has been before mentioned, and which happened on the Saturday preceding the 23d of July, the insurgents were busy during the night in removing the stores and implements, which had escaped that conflagration. The police men of the city made some seizures, which were rescued, and some, which they secured and lodged in the watch-house of New-market, Coombe. Amongst the latter was a machine for making rockets; amongst the former a cask filled with flints and rings for pike handles, which had burst on being cast off the shoulders of the porter and scattered part of the contents in the street, and which were collected by the Police men and put into the hands of the late Mr. Heppenstall, the Secretary to the Police. He produced them at a large dinner on the following Tuesday, and in the presence of a numerous company boasted, that Government was fully apprized of the preparations, and guarded on their side to prevent the mischiefs of an immediate insurgency.

plundering mountaineer *Dwyer*, who, with some desperadoes had for a considerable time, in defiance of the police and military, carried on a depredatory system from the Wicklow mountains. For some time, either from fear or sympathy the inhabitants of the mountains gave them aid and protection: they however soon began to render themselves obnoxious by levying contributions upon the mountaineers for their subsistence. *Dwyer's* wife was particularly active in these collections. *Dwyer* at last, with four of his principal associates, namely, *Martin Burke*, *John Mernagh*, *Hugh Byrne* and *Arthur Devlin*, surrendered to *Mr. Hume* on condition, that they should be immediately sent to North America. They were however kept contrary to these conditions for about 2 years in *Kilmainham*, during which period they made frequent vain complaints of the violation of the faith of Government, and of the hardship and duration of their confinement.\*

\* In consequence of their and others complaints, the Lord Chief Justice *Downes* and two other judges were sent to *Kilmainham* to examine into the grievances complained of: on which occasion *Dwyer* very impressively urged upon the Chief Justice *Downes* the infamy and mischief of Government's entering into promises and pledges, which they never meant to observe. It was the destruction of all credit and confidence. He assured the Judge, that if he would allow him to go one mile from *Kilmainham*, he would defy all the army and police of the country ever to retake him. Had he suspected such perfidy in Government, he never would have surrendered. They had not surrendered from fear of apprehension, but to prevent innocent persons from being harrassed and punished on their accounts.

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They were afterwards shipped off for Botany Bay with the convicts on board the *Tellicherry*, and £100 were given to each of them by Government before they sailed; either to indemnify them for their confinement, or for their having consented to transport themselves to Botany Bay.

Mr. Wickham retires from ill health.

About this time Mr. Wickham retired from the labours of Secretary, upon the ground of ill health, and was succeeded by Mr. Nepean. In the summer this gentlemen had been prevented for some weeks from attending his duty in Parliament by a sore leg, which confined him to his house; he was however sufficiently recovered to undertake the journey to Ireland, and he had actually left London before the first accounts of the insurrection of the 23d of July had arrived. Upon his return to Ireland, he was so rudely assailed in public \* writings and conversa-

\* In the autumn of 1803, appeared the letters in Mr. Cobbett's Political Register under the signature *Juvena*, written by, and which led to the most extraordinary trial of Mr. Judge Johnson, which will be noticed in order. It has been before observed, that no Government had ever before had the press in Ireland so completely devoted to its interests and controul as Lord Hardwicke's, and the writer of those letters frankly admits, that because every printer in Dublin had refused to publish a letter to Mr. Wickham, he applied to Mr. Cobbett, who readily admitted his complaints into his register. As parts of these letters have been found libellous, it would ill become the historian to attempt any thing like republication. They are nervously written, and contain amidst many truisms some severe remarks, that greatly offended the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Chancellor Redesdale, and other public characters. The grand

tions, for the weakness, remissness, and neglect of Government, that his resignation is more generally attributed to the uneasiness of his situation, than to his inability to perform the functions of it from ill health. Through every department the exertions of Government were increased both in preparing against invasion by erecting Martello Towers and other batteries at an enormous (perhaps useless) expence round Dublin Bay, and along the Shore from Dunleary to Bray, and on various parts of the Coast, and enforcing internal † regulations for pre-

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object of the letters was to shew, that the Government of a harmless man, was not therefore a harmless Government: that weakness in Government is vice, and want of talents in Ministers, in most practical instances, is more mischievous than want of principle. In the ensuing month of May, in a trial in the court of King's Bench in London, the *King v Cobbett* before Lord Ellenborough, Mr. Cobbett was found guilty upon an information exhibited by the Attorney General for the publication of certain libels with intention to traduce the Government, viz. Lord Lieutenant the Earl of Hardwicke, Lord Chancellor Redesdale, the Hon. Charles Osborne, Justice of the Court of King's Bench, and Mr. Marsden, Secretary in Ireland.

The libel, which affected Mr. J. Osborne, was the attributing to him corrupt and improper motives for saying in his address to the grand jury of the County of Antrim on the special commission, to try the northern rebels in October, 1803, *that through the well timed efforts and strenuous exertions of a wise and energetic Government &c. the progress of such crimes as lately disgraced this Country had been effectually checked.*

† Amongst others, was a general order to extinguish all lights and fire by 9 o'clock in the evening. Out of the non-observance

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venting the rise and growth of rebellion. Fresh orders were also issued by Lord Cathcart to the dif-

of this regulation arose a trial, which as it shews much of the spirit of the times, is briefly noticed. The Rev. Dr. Ledwiche who had been 22 years Parish Priest of Rathfarnham, was reading on the 3d of February, 1804 about 10 o'clock at night in his bed room at Rathfarnham. Mr. Charles Frizell, a barrister and a yeoman, had on that day dined with Lieutenant Costley of the Roscommon Militia, a party of which was stationed there. Seeing a light in the Priest's room they proceeded with a party of the Militia to the house, in which he lodged. They violently rapt at the door and demanded Dr. Ledwiche to attend them at the guardhouse ; he put his head out of the window and was recognized by them both, but he refused to go to the guardhouse, assuring them, that if they had any charge against him, he would appear to it the next morning. One of them violently aimed a blow at his head with a drawn sword, which he providentially eluded, and shutting the window escaped from the back of the house. They then ordered the men to fire into his room ; some vollics were accordingly fired, and several balls perforated his bed curtains : then bursting open the door they rushed up to the bed room and pierced the bedding by frequent stabs of sword and bayonet ; one of them also made a desperate lounge with a drawn sword at Miss Ledwiche, the Clergyman's niece, upon her answering, that she knew not where her uncle was, but which was parried off by one of the militia men. They were separately indited upon several capital counts and for an assault. At both trials the facts were fully proved, and neither of the prisoners produced witnesses. Lieutenant Costly was acquitted on the capital counts, and found guilty of the assault. Judge Day was above two hours in charging the Jury and sentenced him to two years confinement in Kilmainham and to a fine of 20 marks, and at the expiration of that time to give security for preserving the peace himself, in £500, and his two securities in £250 each. Mr. Frizell was acquitted even of the

ferent corps under his command, with separate complimentary addresses to the regulars, militia and yeomen. The Government prints teemed with adulatory commendations of the new commander in chief, lamenting, that he had not been invested with the command in July, to have saved the life of Lord Kilwarden, and prevented the disgrace and consequences of that insurrection.

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In the beginning of February all the district committees of the City of Dublin received instructions by circular letters to make correct returns of the numbers of houses within their respective districts, inhabited and uninhabited, the numbers of inns and public houses in each district, the numbers of male and female inhabitants in each house, classing them according to their ages from infancy to 12, from 12 to 15, and from 15 to 60 years of age, together with the total amount of population and the precise number of yeomen, and also of forges, distilleries and breweries in each district.

Further  
cautionary  
measures.

About this time the nation was thrown into great perplexity and embarrassment by some very equivocal symptoms in the state of His Majesty's health, which threatened a relapse into his former complaint.

King's ill-  
ness & con-  
duct of  
Ministers.

assault, though Judge Johnson observed to the Jury, that the striking at Dr. Ledwicke had been uncontrovertibly proved. Mr. Egan set up in defence his client's ardor for loyalty, which with the goodness of his heart, a little heated with liquor had been roused to a pitch of enthusiasm for that salutary system, which the Government of 1798 had pursued, and the present had found necessary to renew since the 23d of July.

1803.

It was mysteriously concealed from the eyes of the public; and the celebration of Her Majesty's birth day was announced from the Castle at Dublin to be postponed till further notice. It was a considerable time before any bulletin of his Majesty's health was published. He was regularly attended by five physicians, viz. Doctors Turton, Heberden, Millman, Pepys and Reynolds, and by Mr. Dundas the Apothecary from Richmond, who was supposed to know more of the constitution of his Majesty, than any gentleman of his profession. The utmost secrecy was observed at the Queen's house: not a whisper was suffered concerning the King's health; the first officers of the state were refused access; the Chancellor declared in the house of Lords, on the 1st of March, and Mr. Addington in the Commons on the next day, that they had not had access to his Majesty since the commencement of his illness. On the first of these days upon Lord Hawkesbury's moving, that the Irish Bank restriction bill should be read a second time on the Monday following, Lord King observed, that in the progress of that and other more important bills on their passage through the other house of parliament, it became imperiously necessary to know, whether ministers adhered to the declaration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Commons on the preceding Monday, *that at present there was no necessary suspension of the Royal Authority.* He called also upon Ministers to give the reason, why the daily bulletins were signed by four only of the attending physicians, and never by



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Dr. Turton, who had on a former similar occasion also attended his Majesty, and then regularly signed the daily reports, which issued of the state of His Majesty's health. Of this question none of His Majesty's Ministers condescended to take the slightest notice. To the former question Lord Hawkesbury drily and with apparent reluctance answered. "I do not hesitate to repeat the assurance, that has been already given; and to declare, that at present there is no necessity for the suspension of any of the Royal functions." Lord Grenville being not satisfied with this declaration, referred to the conduct of that house in 1788, when the physicians, who had the care of his Majesty's person were examined at the bar of the house, and in consequence of their evidence, the house resolved, 1st, that by his Majesty's indisposition he was unable to attend to public business, and thereby the personal exercise of the royal authority was for the present interrupted. 2d, That it was the right and the duty of Parliament to provide the means of supplying such defect according to the exigency of the case. Reference was also made to the instances of Lord Thurlow in 1788 and Lord Rosslyn in 1801, who had found it their duty to have personal interviews with his Majesty, before they ventured to recommend any step under those delicate circumstances. Here there was an affectation of false delicacy; nor did any one of the King's confidential and responsible servants even pretend to assert, that he had had personal intercourse with his Majesty, during his indisposi-

1808.

tion, by which alone they could answer for his constitutional competency to exercise the executive functions. Lord Fitzwilliam particularly urged this point with the Chancellor. The Lords Spencer, Carlisle, Carnarvon and Carysfort pressed the Ministers to be open and explicit upon so momentous a question. But Lord Hawkesbury said. "My Lords, in giving the assurance I already have done, I have proceeded on Authority sufficient to satisfy my own mind, and I think it unnecessary to make any further declaration." Lord Chancellor Eldon made his usual profession of the conscientious performance of his public duty. "Nothing, said he, should have compelled me, for compelled I feel myself, to make any declaration on a subject of such extreme delicacy, but a sense of the duty I owe to my Sovereign, to the Legislature and to the People. From all the information I have been able to obtain, from every quarter I had a right to look for it and to demand it, I most firmly believe, that the declaration made by the noble Secretary of State has been made in truth and honor. I state this, my Lords, with a most perfect conviction of the responsibility and duty I owe to my Sovereign, and the duty I owe to the country." Lord Grenville still pressed upon the Chancellor the example of his two immediate predecessors, who declared they could not have satisfied the duty of their high station under similar circumstances without obtaining personal access to their sovereign.

His Lordship replied. " Those resolutions were entered into previous to the affixing of the great seal to a legislative measure then in contemplation. Were any instrument to be now tendered to me for the purpose of having the great seal put to it, I should think it a breach of my duty to do so *without personally consulting his Majesty.*"

1803.

On the next day Mr. Grey, in the Commons, pressed the Prime Minister in like manner to make some explicit declaration upon the state of the King's health, in order, as he said, " that the house might know, whether they were continuing to transact public business in a way consistent with their duty to the people, or whether they were by the exercise of their legislative functions, violating the principles of the constitution." Mr. Addington confirmed the declaration he had made on a former evening, and continued. " I have only to add, that *I have not had personal access to his Majesty*; but that a better criterion has been afforded me, whereon I formed my opinion; I mean the concurring sentiments of all the five physicians attending his Majesty." Mr. Grey was not satisfied, and gave notice, that he should make a specific motion on the subject on an early day. The 9th of March put a happy period to the suspense about the competency of the sovereign to exercise the Royal functions. His Majesty had signed a commission to the Chancellor, Lord

Ministers  
called upon  
by Mr.  
Grey.

1803.

Hawkesbury and Lord Auckland to give the Royal assent to the Irish Bank restriction bill, the two mutiny bills, the Duke of York's estate bill, and several other bills. Lord Fitzwilliam anticipated that solemn proceeding by reiterating his former questions to the Chancellor about the state of his Majesty's health; to which he answered: "that not  
 "being satisfied with the reports and assurances of  
 "the Physicians on so important an occasion, he  
 "had had a personal interview with his Sovereign,  
 "at which due discussion took place as to the bills,  
 "which were offered for the Royal assent, and  
 "which was fully expressed."\* After the Commons had returned to their house from attending in the house of Peers, to hear the Royal consent given to the bills, Mr. Grey put some further questions to the Ministers concerning the state of the King's health. Mr. Addington observed a sullen silence.

Bulletins continued to be daily issued from the middle of February. On the 5th of March the four Physicians reported, that his Majesty continued to

\* Lord Chancellor Eldon accompanied this declaration with a fresh assurance of the conscientious performance of his official duties "I know and feel with gratitude my obligations to  
 "the best of Sovereigns, to whose person I bear the warmest  
 "affection. But I can most conscientiously say, that no  
 "consideration whatever, even those, to which I have alluded,  
 "shall ever induce me to break that sacred covenant I have  
 "made with myself, not to suffer any thing to warp my  
 "judgment, or to bias me from that rule of strict duty and  
 "rectitude, which I am determined to follow."

make very favourable progress towards recovery ; on the 10th, they continued to entertain a favourable opinion of his Majesty's recovery, and on the next day the Bulletin was. His Majesty is materially better, and is far advanced in recovery. 1803.

On the 3d of March, Mr. Alexander, in the Commons, brought up the report of the Committee for consolidating and arranging certain revenue duties upon goods, wares and merchandizes imported and exported into and from Ireland. It brought on a conversation, which afterwards ended in an act for continuing, during the war, a tax of 3 per cent. upon all linens exported from Ireland. Mr. Dawson, the Member of Monaghan was the only Gentleman, who opposed it. He regretted, that the tax was not abandoned, as it fell so severely upon the only staple manufacture of Ireland. His constituents had just reason to blame him for not having opposed the tax during the last session, for he was present, when it passed. The omission of his duty arose out of ignorance and inadvertence ; he permitted it to pass unnoticed, under the general head of a 3 per cent export tax, conceiving, that every stipulation for the protection of the linen manufacture had been conclusively settled by the articles of the Union. The continuance of the tax was warmly supported by Mr. Corry, Mr. Hawthorn, Mr. Alexander, Lord De Blaquiere, Mr. Foster and Lord Castlereagh.\* Linen duty imposed.

\* This export duty on linens was repealed the next session.

1803.

Sir John  
Wrottes-  
ley's moti-  
on on the  
rebellion.

Sir John Wrottesley's motion for an enquiry into the conduct of his Majesty's Government in Ireland, relative to the insurrection of the 23d of July, was one of the most interesting debates of the session. The motion was brought forward by Sir. John Wrottesley, a particular friend of Mr. Pitt, in order to prepare the way for that Gentleman's return to office, by exposing the imbecility and remissness of that Administration, which he had formed and for three years supported, until they presumed to set up their own merits as grounds for continuing in place against their original tenure.

Lord Red-  
easdale's  
correspon-  
dence with  
Lord  
Fingal.

This view of the question brought prominently forward all the seceders with Mr. Pitt; he kept himself aloof on the occasion. The favourable opportunity, which the motion furnished the old opposition of exculpating General Fox naturally secured their support. The Ministers however negatived the motion by a majority of 91 out of 255 Members, that attended the debate, which was protracted to 5 o'Clock in the morning. It brought to light no other facts concerning the rebellion besides those, which have been already noticed. Mr. Canning took this opportunity of introducing the improvident, weak and inflammatory letters \* of

\* The introduction of Lord Chancellor Redesdale, as the prominent and leading character in the Irish Government at this period, is pregnant with historical information, and develops more of the the genuine spirit of the Pitt system, than any fact or document brought to light since his mysterious relinquishment of the helm. At his special recommendation

Lord Redesdale to the Earl of Fingal, to the consideration of the House. He observed, that the

1806.  
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had the Sovereign's conscience been entrusted to the two noble Peers for England and Ireland, who had been long and thoroughly trained in all the machiavelian principles and occult tactics of the Pitt school: they were for several years the law officers of the crown and the official as well as pliant members of his plans, as Attorney and Solicitor General. Lord Redesdale, who, in the year 1791, had introduced into the British Parliament the bill for relaxing several of the penal laws against the English Roman Catholics, which Mr. Pitt did not mean to oppose, was selected as the most plausible instrument for opposing the emancipation of the Irish Catholics, which he intended never should be granted. The imbecility of the Addington administration, of which the ex-minister availed himself, in order to secure his return to power, consisted in their inability to conceal the secret springs of that system, which Mr. Pitt had formed and meant to be persevered in. The grand arcanum of that system was to keep out of sight and responsibility, the real advisers of the great measures of Government. Mr. Addington had weakly boasted of Lord Redesdale's influence over Lord Hardwicke, and Lord Redesdale had improvidently committed to writing evidence of his own ignorance, bigotry, and narrow policy, which were intended to operate upon Ireland, under the delusive liberality of Lord Hardwicke's government. When Lord Redesdale went to Ireland to accept of the great seals, he certainly carried with him a large stock of technical knowledge of the rules, forms, and practice of courts of equity: but lamentable were his ignorance in theology, his deficiency in state policy, and his inexperience in the world. Soon after the late insurrection in Dublin, the Earl of Fingal wishing to render himself useful, had solicited a commission of the peace for the County of Meath, and when the Chancellor sent him the warrant of the appointment, he accompanied it with a very

1803.

high authority after the contemptible number and means of the late insurrection had been fully

extraordinary letter, the first part of which was a catechistical instruction upon the duties of active loyalty; the next, a forced inference, that so long as the Catholic clergy taught their flocks, that unity was an essential requisite in the church and faith of Christ, so long would they inculcate hatred and treason to their legitimate Sovereign, should he not submit to the church of Rome. The second letter attributed the late insurrection to the difference in religious opinion of the bulk of the people, who, heedless themselves about their constitutional rights, are taught and encouraged by their clergy to demand an equal participation of them with Protestants, whom they refuse to consider brethren in Christ. It enforced the forbearing example of the Quakers, who suffered more for conscience sake than the Roman Catholics. It arraigned the pastoral instructions of Doctor Troy, in 1798, and of the late Doctor Hussey, in 1797, as incompatible with the loyalty of a subject, and maintained, that loyalty could not prevail on the Catholic body, till their clergy should cease to preach up the doctrine of exclusive salvation, and particularly, that *desiring liberty to think for themselves, they ought also to permit others to think for themselves, and not murder, because they differ in religious opinion.* The third letter urges the temporal degradation of the Bishop of Rome by the French tyrant, as a reason for the Irish clergy's disclaiming the doctrine of exclusive salvation, so destructive of the repose of mankind, that it is mockery and folly for priests to pretend to exhort their flocks to loyalty, whilst they tell them, that all, who refuse obedience to the church are rebels to their God, which *must produce eternal damnation in the next world, and render them objects of horror and dislike in this.* It directly charges, that Catholics, who were under the instructions of their priests, came from all parts of Ireland, to effect the horrid purposes manifested on the 23d of July. The 4th and last letter to Lord Fingal insists, that the whole



disclosed to the Irish Government, had most unwarrantably asserted, that it was an insurrection

1803.

tenor of the conduct of the lower orders of the Catholics shews, that the duties of loyalty are not effectually taught them, and that many of the higher orders both of clergy and laity are not impressed with them. It alludes to one district in particular, "in which the priests, who had been instrumental in saving the lives of the loyalist, in the late rebellion, were universally discountenanced by their superiors, and that a priest proved to have been guilty of sanctioning the murders of 1798, transported to Botany Bay, and since pardoned by the mercy of Government, had been brought back in triumph, by the same superior, to what, in defiance of the law he calls his parish, (his Lordship was reminded by Doctor Coppinger in his answer of the act, which recognized the *parish priest*,) and there placed as a martyr, in a manner the most insulting to the feelings of the Protestants, to the justice of the country and to that Government, to whose lenity he owes his redemption from the punishment due to his crimes." It then questions the loyalty of the late Bishop Hussey, and by deduction calls in doubt that of his revered successor, in the see of Waterford, the learned and respectable Doctor Power, because he was appointed in the usual manner, at the recommendation of the higher order of the clergy, by the Pope, then a vassal of France, under which circumstances he concludes, that the priests of the Romish persuasion, never had taken and never would take honest and constitutional means to make their congregations loyal subjects of the Protestant Government of this country.

To this inflammatory batch of polemical petulance, Lord Fingal answered with that gentlemanly forbearance and accommodating curtesy, which have characterized that amiable and respectable nobleman through life. He disclaimed controversy, and vindicated his own and the loyalty of his brethren in faith. Doctor Coppinger, the Catholic Bishop of Cloyne and Ross,

1803.

of whole classes of rebels, making it an imputation against three fourths of the people of Ireland, that

being the person so clearly designated in the fourth letter, is a prelate peculiarly fitted for the sublime functions of a christian Bishop by his erudition, firmness and exemplary virtue. He wrote an able, spirited and impressive letter to the Chancellor, complaining of the injustice done to him and to his religion, by the unfounded charges and calumnies contained in his letter to Lord Fingal, each of which he completely refuted. Lord Redesdale in his reply to Doctor Coppiinger, excused himself, upon the score of his fourth letter to Lord Fingal being a confidential statement of representations made to him, the truth of which he had not asserted. *My letters, said his Lordship, could not have been injurious to you, if they had remained with Lord Fingal.* He attributed all the mischief to the publication of his letters, which were never meant to meet the public eye.

He complained of the publication of Mr. O'Neil's case (entitled the humble remonstrance of the Rev. Peter O'Neil, R. C. Parish Priest of Ballymacoda, to the Nobility and Gentry of the County of Cork) and other publications tending to insult the Protestants of Ireland and their religion. "With a person, his Lordship concludes, who professes to consider Mr. O'Neil's pamphlet as an *humble remonstrance*, I think I cannot prudently hold any correspondence, especially after the treatment I have experienced with respect to my letters to Lord Fingal. I shall therefore decline giving any further answer to your letter, which would unavoidably lead to a long and unpleasant discussion."

The impartial reader will observe, that no man in the United Kingdom knew more fully than Lord Redesdale, the nature and bearing of R. Catholic doctrine upon active loyalty, having been advised with and concerned in the formation of the much canvassed oath and test of allegiance, by which the English R. Catholics were admitted in 1701 to express their loyalty to their King and fidelity to their country: and the Irish oath

they had chosen and furnished their quota of the eighty rebels, of which Ministers declared it consisted. He had implicated all the Catholics in that rebellion, and had imputed to them their full share of its guilt. He had read those letters, said Mr. Canning with shame and indignation. "It certainly was a great misfortune, that such a person with such sentiments, should be placed in such a situation. When he saw such a minister of Government there, the highest in legal

1803.

and test are of the same purport and tendency. It is due to the truth of history, to transmit to posterity, what Lord Redesdale might or ought to have known on the 6th of September, 1803, (the date of his fourth letter to Lord Fingal), that Mr. O'Neil never was found guilty of any crime; consequently, that he could not have been pardoned by the mercy of Government; that he was flogged even to evisceration, for the purpose of extorting from him the secrets of the confessional; that he was sent to Botany Bay against the express order of Lord Cornwallis; that he was called home by Lord Hardwicke, because he was proved to be an injured and an innocent man, and for the same reasons was he reinstated in his parish by his Superior. Lord Redesdale in his last letter to Lord Fingal refers to the *very high and very respectable authority*, from which he drew his information. There are strong grounds for laying the misrepresentation, which betrayed the noble Baron into such mischievous weakness in this instance to the account of Lord Leaguville, as in others to that of Doctor Patrick Duignan, Sir Richard Musgrave, Mr. John Giffard, and such zealots for the Orange ascendancy. The national evil did not arise out of the publication, but the influence of such wicked prejudices over the man, whose advice the Ministers boasted, swayed the Irish Government.

1803.

“ authority, he did not say, that this was to be  
“ considered, nor did he state it as a firebrand,  
“ which threatened the country with destruction,  
“ but he did state that great officer of Government  
“ as enjoying the full confidence and a great portion  
“ of the power of Government, and whether he  
“ were the intended vehicle of publishing such  
“ sentiments as those of Government, he did not  
“ know ; yet it had all the effect of design, and he  
“ could not help looking upon the publication of  
“ such sentiments, as conveying to the public the  
“ *animus* of the Government. Whether those  
“ sentiments were really the sentiments of Govern-  
“ ment or no, he would not pretend to say ; but  
“ the great character, to which he had alluded was  
“ a member of the Irish Government, and the  
“ Government, in which such a mind predomi-  
“ nated ; that was to say, a mind governed by  
“ such principles, as had been published by that  
“ great person, had great influence, where such  
“ a spirit presided, and where such a spirit ruled and  
“ such opinions were cherished, the Government  
“ influenced by it, he was sure could not be con-  
“ ciliating, nor agreeable, nor could hold forth  
“ any prospects of comfort, to say nothing of  
“ happiness to the Irish people : a Government,  
“ which permitted itself to cherish such sentiments,  
“ discovered an *animus*, that afforded no comfort  
“ to those, by whom it was governed ; it was an  
“ imprudent Government, and very ill adapted  
“ for even the safety of the public.”

1803.

Mr. Perceval's justification of Lord Redesdale.

Mr. Fox spoke of the religious correspondence of Lord Redesdale with Lord Fingal with contempt and indignation. Never did bigotry shew itself more weak and ignorant, never did it tend to be more wicked and mischievous. He observed, that the friends of Lord Redesdale admitted, that the next indiscreet thing after the writing of those letters, was the discussion of them in that house. Mr. Windham pointedly reprobated the letters, as indicative of the *animus* of the Government. Mr. Perceval, under all his domestic, professional and political sympathies with the noble Baron, "maintained there would have been no evil "in the writing of the letters \* if they had not "been published; and they were not published by

\* This is new casuistry from the evangelical school of Mr. Perceval. The old doctrine was, that it was evil to misrepresent or traduce the character of one's neighbour, even under secrecy. The fact however of publication in this instance was not attended with any of that turpitude or malice, which the Attorney General would have fixed it with. The very nature of the correspondence was public: nor was there any intimation on either side, that it should be considered confidential. The letters were very naturally and very laudably communicated by Lord Fingal to his professional man of confidence, who with obvious sympathy and commendable interest, handed copies of them to a Gentleman of more exalted situation of his own profession. It was from the publication of them in the News Journal, that Doctor Coppinger first learnt, that he had been so pointedly referred to and severely assailed in them. It is false, that Doctor Coppinger in any manner promoted their publication. Ignorance and malice only have laid the publication to his account.

1803

“ the Lord Chancellor. As to the letters, it was  
 “ to be remembered, that the learned Lord was  
 “ writing to a man he had made a magistrate, and  
 “ speaking of misprision of treason, requested  
 “ him to warn those, with whom he had influence  
 “ of the heinous guilt and the frequency of this  
 “ crime.”

Mischief  
 of unfair  
 representa-  
 tion of the  
 people.  
 Mr. Pitt.

Daily experience teaches the fatal lesson, that our popular representatives in Parliament are so constituted, as to enable a minister, be he ever so weak and wicked, to command a majority of their votes, which therefore becomes no criterion of the real sense of the people. Loud and indignant was the cry of the country against the drivelling impotence of Mr. Addington's administration. He still commanded a majority in Parliament, and yet Mr. Pitt was to be forced back upon his Majesty's councils through dint of fear, lest he should be provoked to recant, disclose and betray the system so anxiously fostered at St. James's. This return to power was not to be effected by overt means; it would have been too revolting to common decency, too repugnant to the first principles of the system to oppose and expose it in Parliament, when his return to the Cabinet was for the sole purpose of perpetuating it with more plausibility and effect. He in the mean while through some of his confidential tools secretly negotiated his resumption of power, keeping himself in coy reserve, in order to be forced to the enjoyment, he had now long pined for.

In the mean while the chief debates in Parliament were highly important to the interests of Ireland. Lord Archibald Hamilton offered to the House of Commons three resolutions respecting the issuing of monies from the Irish treasury, without the authority of Parliament. 1st. That payments had been made in London of salaries on the Irish establishment, at par, carrying the loss of exchange to the national account. 2nd. That such payments had been made without authority. 3d. That the practice was unwarrantable and ought to be discontinued. In this, even Mr. Foster opposed Lord Castlereagh, and contended, that such payments were illegal. The Ministers, however, negatived the resolutions on the previous question, by a majority of thirty-eight. On the same day came forward the two Irish militia bills, in different stages, that is, the Irish militia officers' bill, and the Irish militia augmentation bill; and on the next day Mr. Yorke moved for a Committee of the whole house on the bill, to empower his Majesty to accept of the offers of such of the militia corps in Ireland, as had volunteered to extend their services to Great Britain. Mr. Elliott opposed the measure, and was reminded by Mr. Yorke, that he was Under-secretary and a member of the Irish Parliament, in 1799, when that identical measure was adopted, notwithstanding Ireland then were in a situation of much more peril, than it was at the time he was speaking. Mr. Hutchinson approved of the bill, because it recorded the zeal of

1803.

Debates in  
Parliament  
affecting  
Ireland.

1763

object, which was considered the price of that Union, namely, the emancipation of the Catholics had not been granted, it would be unwise and dangerous to remove from that country a large force of such tried loyalty and bravery. That wise and benevolent statesman, Mr. Fox, who never failed to inculcate justice, when Ireland was weak, and dignity when she was strong, dwelt also on the same grounds. Whenever that measure had been discussed, he always opposed it; he had seen no benefit resulting from it, unless that of getting rid of a very corrupt legislature. Those, who brought about the Union by means certainly not defensible had allowed it would not be complete, unless followed up by certain measures, not one of which had been effected. He wished a fair trial was given by the execution of those measures, though he doubted, whether even then there could be a complete Union of countries too distant for local conveniency to permit a community of representation. He looked upon it as absolutely impossible, that Ireland should be ever fairly represented in that House. As to any internal improvement, it was impossible to expect any such event, whilst the present Government of that country lasted, whilst there was a Chancellor of Ireland, who told the people of Ireland, that they could not be good subjects, whilst they continued faithful to the religion they professed, and the ideas, which they had of what they owed to the God, whom they adored, it was decidedly impossible, that country



could be governed by any other means than by force,\* as it then was governed by martial law and by suspension of the *Habeas Corpus*. He looked upon the measure before the House generally unconstitutional, and a direct violation of the articles of Union.

1803.

As man naturally forms his first judgment from appearances, so by how much more open and upright he himself is, by so much less suspicious is he of the conduct of those, who square it to the deceit of others. The actual abatement of the fury of Lord Camden's Government was a great national benefit, and not only encouraged the return of loyalty, but ingratiated the Viceroy with some of the most eminent opposers of the system of coercion. The most marked attentions to Mr. Grattan were paid at the castle, and their Excellencies were sumptuously entertained at Mr. Grattan's in Stephen's-green. That eminent patriot was not then in Parliament, and his benevolent sympathies naturally inspired him with affection for the Governor, under whom his Countrymen ceased to be openly persecuted and tortured. His lofty mind

Mr. Pitt's  
influence &  
duplicity.

\* Lord Redesdale has been known publicly to boast, that Ireland can never be kept in obedience, unless there be a standing force of 20000 regular troops in that country, and every man of them a protestant. The author has been assured of this by a living and respectable person, who heard him make the declaration.

1803.

pried not into the secret pledges and manœuvres for preventing their final liberation from thralldom. Division and weakness were the two pivots, upon which Mr. Pitt's system in Ireland had uninterruptedly turned. To keep it in constant gyration was equally his view in resigning his situation in 1801, as it was in resuming it in 1804. The possession of office usually engenders an inordinate lust for power, a disdainful contempt of those, who have it not, and an arrogant assumption of merit. Mr. Pitt found himself driven at last to work out Mr. Addington by rallying his own parliamentary supporters, and pressing into his assistance such of the old opposition as were on all occasions ready to oppose the system, and harrassed the Ministers with debates and hard run divisions. On a motion of Mr. Fox, on the Defence bill, out of 450 Members the Ministers had but a majority of 52, and on Mr. Pitt's Army of Reserve bill the Ministerial majority was dwindled to 37. The directors of the secret cabinet were frightened into the necessity of removing Mr. Addington, and found it more expedient to trust the continuance of the system to the tried exertions of its author and manager, than to commit it to those, who had always reprobated and threatened its destruction. Hence arose an extensive system of private negotiation, of which even a faithful narrative would be disrelished by most of the negotiating parties, and be boldly denied, from want of public document to prove

or disprove assertion. Mr. Pitt was publicly known to have been admitted to his Majesty, to have had frequent conferences with the Duke of York,\* and to have been accompanied to the Queen's House by the Lord Chancellor. On the other hand it was equally notorious, that Mr. Fox and several of his political friends were frequently at Carlton-house and at the Marquis of Buckingham's. Mr. Fox, who knew not the reserve or craft of the intriguing statesman, openly and loudly entreated his friends, not to permit his exclusion to become an obstacle to their acceptance of place. It is to be presumed, that the protraction of the definitive formation of a new ministry was owing to the difficulty of arranging and submitting to the new tenures, by which offices were in future to be holden. Mr. Pitt's ambition and lust for rule debased

1803.

\* In the correspondence of the Prince of Wales, which has been before alluded to, about his Royal Highness having a military command, which was published in December, 1803, were some letters from the Duke of York, which neither bespoke nor promised much cordiality between the two elder of the Royal brothers. In one of those letters, the Duke professed, that he never interfered with politics; by which it must be presumed, that he meant to express his wish, not so far to interfere with political parties, as to render his situation of Commander-in-chief dependant upon any party, or liable to any responsibility, or to bring his influence in the state under any possible reduction.

1803.

him into pledges, which innate honor and constitutional principle induced Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, Mr. Windham and some others to reject with indignation.

Mischievous inconsistency of military service.

The Imperial Parliament continued their proceedings, particularly with reference to Ireland, as if no change in administration were in contemplation. In following up the volunteering of the Irish militia to serve in Great Britain a very serious and important question arose, which shewed the infatuated obstinacy, with which the Government resisted Catholic concession in ever form. It was urged in Parliament, that the Irish act of the 33 Geo. III. enabling Catholics to serve his Majesty in the army without liability to pain, penalty or disability, did not extend its beneficial effects beyond the jurisdiction of the late Parliament of Ireland. If therefore they permitted the Irish militia to extend their services to Great Britain, it would become necessary to enact some legal provision, by which they should protect the Catholic militia men, as well as all other Catholic soldiers, from becoming liable to the rigour of the British statutes, which not only prohibit the Catholic from serving, but disable the King from permitting or employing him in the service. Such however was the ignorant or wilful misconstruction of the law by the law-officers of the crown, that Ministers, under sanction of their formal opinions, asserted in the open senate, that the operative power of the Irish legislature for

this political expediency, extended itself throughout the whole range of the jurisdiction of the \* British

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\* These politicolegal opinions were attributed particularly to Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough and Mr. Spencer Perceval, the then Attorney General. The latter had lately been proved even by the judicial decision of the former, to have grossly misled the Government, by an erroneous opinion (in contradiction to that of Lord Erskine's) upon the operation of the Army of Reserve act. So enthusiastically adverse is that gentleman to Catholic concession, that since his elevation to the place of first Lord of the Treasury, he has triumphantly asked, why these penal laws should be repealed, since Government felt no practical inconvenience from their pressing upon the Roman Catholics, who actually serve. In spite of them, Government procured, as many recruits as they wanted, and those, who entered did their duty as well, as if they were subject to no penalty or disability. As the law now stands, all persons, Peers or Commoners, and even seamen and private soldiers, neglecting or refusing to take the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, (which a Catholic cannot take) and abjuration, are disabled from suing in law or equity, from being Guardians, Executors and Administrators, or capable of any legacy or deed of gift, or from bearing any office within the realm of England, Dominion of Wales or town of Berwick upon Tweed and are subjected to a forfeiture of 500*l.* to him or them, that shall sue for the same. Fitting it is to be known to all, who are or may be interested in the History of Ireland, that when the act passed in 1793 enabling Catholics to serve in the army of Ireland, the late Lord Clare, in the House of Peers, and the present Lord Buckinghamshire (then Lord Hobart) in the House of Commons, seeing the monstrous inconsistency and injustice of enabling his Majesty's subjects to serve him in one part of the Empire, whilst it was illegal, criminal and punishable to serve him in any other, pledged themselves, that a corresponding act would be passed in less than two months.

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from that time, by the Parliament of Great Britain, to extend the freedom of service throughout every part of his Majesty's dominions, which would give full effect to the bill then before them. A pledge, if not unheeded, yet, to this very hour, unredeemed by his Majesty's Ministers. (Vide Hist. Rev. 2 vol, page 420.)

The impartial mind is overwhelmed in astonishment, whilst it passes in review the number of his Majesty's Catholic subjects supereminently qualified and ardently zealous to serve their King, in defence of their country, the present imperious call for their co-operation, and the legal constitutional and political difficulties and incoherences raised upon the important subject by his Majesty's Government. The test act operates at this moment against the King's granting a commission in the army precisely as it did, when James the second granted a commission in the Guards to Sir Edward Hales, who was a Catholic. Upon that grant in violation of the test act, with a *nonobstante*, the legal dispensing power of the crown was established (*Godwyn qui tam v. Hales Bart. Comb*) by a solemn and righteous judgment of the Court of Common Pleas, in which Lord Chief Justice Herbert then presided. In that popular action the informer failed in recovering the 500*l.* penalty upon the Defendants pleading the clause of *non obstante*; but in as much as the dispensing power was upon the revolution most properly and irrevocably abolished by Parliament in the first year of William and Mary, that plea could not now cover a Catholic suing under such a commission. Every grant therefore of a commission by the crown, at present, is a stronger violation of the test act, than whilst the crown was legally in possession of the dispensing power. That very power is now renewed in substance upon a much broader scale by his Majesty's Government, which trifles with the law, plays with the constitution and arbitrarily treads down the first principles

gave notice to the House of Commons, that he 1803.

of state policy. It sports tyrannically with 5,000,000 of his Majesty's subjects. Some it insults by refusal or expulsion; others it seduces by insidious grants, which under pretence of favour lead to punishment and civil death. The mass of the people it forces into the service under the scourge of the law, by accumulating distress, poverty and proscription upon a vigorous, high spirited and martial youth. It drives on a base traffic and procuration in human flesh, heedless whether it draw into the illicit decoy, by passion, innocence, inexperience or distress. It wantons in the extreme insult of seduction, refusing honor and confidence, and haughtily dealing out the subaltern perquisites of unlicensed traffic. In illustration, unite stand for hundreds. The Author refers to instances within the limited sphere of his own knowledge.

Mr. Bryan, a most respectable Catholic gentleman of large landed property in the County of Kilkenny, had, for some years, been a Lieutenant in the 1st Regiment of foot guards, which gave the rank of Captain in the army. When at the breaking out of the present war, on being informed, that his friend, General Archer had been appointed to a command in Ireland, he applied to the Duke of Gloucester; his Colonel, for permission to accompany him as his *Aid de camp*. His Royal Highness desired General Needham to inform Mr. Bryan, that he could not allow an officer to go from his Regiment, and that if he wished to be *Aid-de-camp* to General Archer he must retire on half pay. Knowing, that the Duke had recently granted such permission to two junior officers without similar stipulation, he again waited on General Needham, and begged he would deliver a letter on the subject from him to his Royal Highness. General Needham then told Mr. Bryan explicitly, that the Duke of Gloucester understood he was a Catholic, that it had been mentioned to his Royal Highness by his Majesty, and that the King was extremely displeased with the Duke, for having allowed a person of that persuasion to enter the guards. It was likewise made known to him by

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should at a 'short day move for a repeal of all the

General Needham, that he was never to expect farther promotion in the guards, and that his Royal Highness was of opinion, that he could never have a better opportunity of going out on half pay, as the circumstance would be attributed to his Royal Highness's refusal to allow an officer to be sent from his Regiment, and to his wish of accompanying General Archer, (but not to a religious motive) and his Royal Highness would permit and strongly pressed him to take the difference, which was 1000*l*. Mr. Bryan being desirous to be employed, particularly in Ireland, and not thinking it right to quit the service in time of danger, did not throw up his commission; but refused to take the difference between full and half pay. The Duke said he had brought himself into a scrape, and must endeavour to get out of it. Mr. Bryan's case was certainly a hard one, but he could not help it. On the ensuing Saturday Mr. Bryan read in the Gazette, (without any intermediate communication with him upon the subject) that another gentleman was appointed to his commission in the guards, *Vice Captain Bryan resigned.*

Mr. Bulstrode, a young Catholic gentleman in England, to whose family, the Benticks, by female ancestry, boast of having been related, applied to the Duke of Portland to be appointed to the office of Paymaster, in the Nottinghamshire Militia. His Grace, in the plenitude of his *no popery æstrum*, most sternly refused; because Mr. Bulstrode, like his lineal ancestors, professed the Catholic faith. What, however, his religion prevented him from obtaining from a protestant Lord Lieutenant of a county in a Militia regiment, that he soon after obtained from a protestant King in a marching regiment, which commission he still holds without having renounced his religious creed, and under the lash of the acts of Charles the second and George the first.

In the year 1809, whilst the second, or Royal North British Dragoons, (commonly called the Scotch Greys) were quartered in Ireland, the officers of that corps had frequent occasions of



penal laws,\* as far as they affected the Roman Catholic subjects of his Majesty entering into

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enjoying the hospitable and friendly attentions of Mr. Taaffe, of Smarmor castle, in the County of Louth, a Catholic Gentleman of great fortune and respectability. His eldest son, a youth of martial spirit, wished to make arms his profession, and was encouraged by the officers of that corps, who well knew his amiable and valuable qualities, in his desire to enter amongst them. Every thing was supposed to have been settled between the Commanding officer in Ireland and the young man's father. The money for the purchase of the commission was lodged at the Banker's, and nothing remained but his Majesty's sign manual to the commission. When a positive inhibition arrived from Sir David Dundas, who was not only the head Colonel of the regiment, but the Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces. That was too select a corps to admit a Catholic into, whatever his merits or pretensions might be. Other regiments (perhaps less fastidious) might admit him. Such, however, was the young man's passion for the army, that his father condescended to purchase a commission for him in a regiment of infantry.

\* Mr. Dillon, who possesses a brilliant and informed mind as well a warm heart for the welfare of his country, was in high personal favour with Mr. Pitt, though probably not initiated into the the full mysteries either of his secession or his intended resumption. He published some spirited and severe exposures of the imbecility of the Addington administration, which highly gratified the private feelings and answered the political views of the Ex-minister. Within three weeks before the extinction of the Addington administration, the Author furnished Mr. Dillon with a draft of such a bill, as he conceived would answer the purpose of his intended motion. Mr. Dillon submitted it to Mr. Pitt, who disapproved of it, and dissuaded his friend from calling upon the legislature to go such lengths in favour of the Roman Catholics. This having been a private and

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into the army and navy. Within very few days, the return of Mr. Pitt to power was considered

friendly, and therefore to be presumed sincere and undisguised expression of Mr. Pitt's sentiments upon a subject, on which he has been so variously represented, a copy of that draft is subjoined, as a fair criterion, whereby to judge the more fairly of his conduct and feeling on the alledged ground of his secession.

*A bill for enabling his Majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic Religion to enter into the naval and military service of his Majesty, throughout every part of his Majesty's dominions.*

WHEREAS, it is unreasonable to deprive his Majesty of the services of any of his loyal subjects, and it is therefore found expedient to repeal all such acts and parts of acts of Parliament as render it unlawful and punishable for any of his Majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic Religion, to enter into his Majesty's service, either at sea or on land; Therefore, be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that henceforth so much of an act passed in the 25th year of the reign of his late Majesty, King Charles II, intituled, *an act for preventing dangers which may happen from popish recusants*, as requires, that every person, who shall bear any military office or in his Majesty's navy shall take and subscribe certain oaths and declarations, by the said act prescribed, and also receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper according to the usage of the church of England, at or within certain times therein specified, and upon refusal or neglect thereof, *ipso facto*, renders every such person incapable and disabled in law to all intents and purposes whatever, to have, occupy or enjoy such office or employment, and upon being lawfully convicted in any of the courts of Westminster or at assizes, of having executed such office or employment after

certain, and Mr. Dillon abandoned his notice. He, like many of the Catholics and some of their

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such neglect or refusal, disables every such person from thenceforth to sue any action, bill, plaint, or information in course of law, or to prosecute any suit in any court of equity, or to be guardian of any child, or Executor or Administrator of any person, or capable of any legacy or deed of gift, or to bear any office within the realm of England, dominion of Wales or town of Berwick upon Tweed, and subjects him to the forfeiture of the sum of 500*l.* to be recovered by him or them that shall sue for the same in manner therein mentioned; and also so much of an act passed in the 1st year of his late Majesty King George the first, intituled, *an act for the further security of his Majesty's person and Government, and the succession of the Crown, in the heirs of the late Princess Sophia, being Protestants and for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales and his open and secret abettors*, as enjoins or requires all and every person or persons, as well Peers as Commoners, that shall bear any office or offices military, or shall receive any pay, salary, fee or wages, by reason of any patent or grant from his Majesty, or shall have command or place of trust from or under his Majesty's predecessors, or by his, her or their authority, or by authority derived from him, her, or them within Great Britain, or in his Majesty's navy, or in the several Islands of Jersey or Guernsey, and all seamen and private soldiers to take the oaths of allegiance, supremacy and abjuration, at or within the times and in the manner thereby prescribed; and upon neglect or refusal thereof, subjects them to the like penalties, incapacities and disabilities, as the before-mentioned act of the 25th of Charles the second, and also one other act passed in the said 1st year of the reign of his said late Majesty, King George the first, intituled; *an act for the more effectual and exemplary punishment of such persons, as shall seduce soldiers to desert, or who, being papists, shall enlist themselves in his Majesty's service in Great Britain or Ireland, or in the islands of Jersey*

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political friends anticipated in Mr. Pitt's recall to the councils of his Majesty, the certain emanci-

and *Guernsey*, and every matter and thing therein contained ; and also so much of an act of the late Parliament of Ireland, passed in the 33<sup>rd</sup> year of his present Majesty, intituled, *an act for the relief of his Majesty's popish or Roman Catholic subjects of Ireland*, as restrains or prevents any Roman Catholic subject having made the declaration and oath required by that act; from holding, exercising and enjoying the offices of Master and Lieutenant General of his Majesty's ordnance, Commander in-chief of his Majesty's forces or Generals on the staff, and also so much of every other act of Parliament of Great Britain and of the late Parliament of Ireland, as requires a declaration from every or any sea and land officer and seaman and soldier, that he is a protestant, and as confirms and sanctions or enjoins, requires or enacts any thing to be done in consequence of or with reference to the said acts hereby repealed either in part or in the whole, shall be and the same are hereby repealed, annulled and made absolutely void to all intents and purposes whatsoever as fully and effectually, as if each such act and parts of acts hereby repealed had been herein fully recited and expressly mentioned. Provided always and be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that henceforth every sea and land officer, seaman and soldier, professing the Roman Catholic religion who shall have taken, made or subscribed, or who shall hereafter, take make or subscribe either the declaration and oath of allegiance and abjuration appointed to be taken, made and subscribed by persons professing the Roman Catholic religion, by the British statute, passed in the 31<sup>st</sup> year of the reign of his present Majesty ; intituled, *an act to relieve, upon conditions and under restrictions, the persons therein described from certain penalties and disabilities, to which papists, or persons professing the popish religion, are, by law, subject*, or the declaration and oath appointed to be taken and subscribed by the persons meaning to be benefited by the said hereinbefore

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pation of the Irish Catholics. It required more than, Machiavelian sagacity to fathom the abyss of Mr. Pitt's deceit. He seldom proposed or carried a measure upon the real ground, or in the genuine views, from which the design had originated in his own ambitious mind. No intimacy, social or official, ever extracted from him the depth of his speculations. Although no man possessed, in so high a degree, as Mr. Pitt, the oratorical powers of blinding his followers to his own weakness and the

mentioned Irish statute, of the 33d year of his present Majesty, whenever the same shall be lawfully tendered to any such sea or land officer, seaman or soldier, professing the Roman Catholic religion, shall be, and is and are hereby declared to be as free to serve his Majesty in any situation or employment by sea or on land, as if he or they had heretofore conformed to such tests and requisitions of the several acts, hereby either wholly or in part repealed. Provided always, and be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that no sea or land officer, seaman or soldier, professing the Roman Catholic religion, and having taken and subscribed both or either of the said declarations and oaths of allegiance and abjuration, appointed to be taken by the said British acts of the 31st year of his present Majesty, or the Irish act of the 33d year of his present Majesty, respectively as aforesaid, shall not henceforth, in any situation or place or upon any exigency pretext or motive whatsoever be compelled or compellable to attend the divine service as by law established, any thing in the regulations for the navy, the articles of war, any British or Irish statute, or any law custom or usage, naval, military, civil or ecclesiastical of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to the contrary thereof in any manner notwithstanding.

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strength of his enemy, yet Mr. Foster said truly of him, (in the gust of his ephemeral patriotism before the Union) *that he scarcely condescended to disguise his tyrannical ascendancy under the forms of debate.*

END OF THE FIRST VOL.

## APPENDIX.

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### MR. ARTHUR'S CASE.

Francis Arthur was a merchant of eminence in the City of Limerick, possessed of considerable estates in land and houses built by himself, daily improving his native city and adding to its embellishments. His commercial concerns employed a considerable capital, and required extensive credit in the adjoining Counties of Limerick, Clare, Tipperary and Kerry, by which he was making a rapid augmentation to his fortune. His character and conduct had procured him a high degree of estimation among his neighbours. He was ever distinguished by his attachment to the constitution. In the year 1796, when the French forces were in the Shannon, he displayed the utmost activity in the service of Government, and among other exertions, raised, under the direction of General Smyth, then commanding in Limerick, a corps of yeomen artillery, of which the General obtained for him the command, with the rank of captain. This corps was trained by him with great assiduity, and at a considerable expense, till the 15th of May, 1798, when it was disbanded. There were nevertheless points in Mr. Arthurs character, which rendered him an object of jealousy, or of something stronger to some persons of authority in that district. He had been active in promoting that address of the Roman Catholics to the Crown, which induced his Majesty to recommend their case with such gracious efficacy to the Parliament, which granted important relief to that body. He had also the hardiness to decline entering into a conspiracy, as it appeared to him, for reducing his native city, (Limerick) to the condition of a dependant borough. The ill will excited by this opposition of sentiment to the views of men in power, and their retainers had probably been long acquiring

virulence during the irksome silence, which Mr. Arthur's private life and public behaviour imposed on his enemies, till the opportunity occurred of covering their animosity under the epidemic fury of the times.

On Thursday, 24th May, 1798, a gentleman observed in Mr. Arthur's presence, how happy it was, that the spirit of dissaffection, which had shown itself in other parts of the kingdom, had not been discoverable in any instance in that neighbourhood. Lieutenant Colonel Cockell Assistant Adjutant General of the District, immediately answered, "that is not the case, for on tuesday next some persons will be taken up, that will astonish the public." Vague surmises of plots and conspiracies were so continually insinuated at that unhappy period, as to have lost the power of exciting the curiosity of any body, and as Lieutenant Colonel Cockell did not seem to allude to any individual, for whom Mr. Arthur could feel interested, it did not occur to him to ask any question on the subject. On Saturday the 26 of May, Captain Lidwell, who was superintending the flogging of a criminal at the market-house of Limerick, turned to the people, that was collected to see the punishment and proclaimed a reward from one hundred to two hundred guineas for any person, who could inform against any member of the late Artillery corps. He then desired a Mr. John Connell to search for arms, adding, some of that corps have advised the Inhabitants to secret them. So direct an implication of the Artillery corps must have expounded Lieutenant Colonel Cockell's meaning, and have operated as a decisive hint for Mr. Arthur to flee the country, had he been conscious of any guilt. As it was, he deemed it a shallow artifice, practiced with a hope of inducing him to quit the town, to avoid the disgrace of being arrested, when his retreat would have been called an attempt to abscond, and would have furnished a pretence for the plunder of his property. Of course he treated it with slight, having little conception, that his life would have been thereby brought into jeopardy. On the next day, Sunday, the 27th of May, Major General Sir James Duff marched out of Limerick, and Major General Edward Morrison remained in the command.

On Tuesday, the 29th of May, whilst Mr. Arthur was sitting with his family, Mr. George Smith, the Recorder of Limerick, came into the house and desired to speak



with Mr. Arthur in another room. On their withdrawing together, the Recorder told Mr. Arthur, that he arrested him \* by order of Major General Morrison

Mr. Smith did not produce any warrant, nor does it appear that Major General Morrison could be authorized to give any such order, martial law not having at that time been proclaimed, no information having been laid and no examination taken. The Recorder demanded Mr. Arthur's keys; they were delivered: he then called Mrs. Arthur into the room, and compelled her also to deliver up her keys; after which he directed her to quit the house, saying it would be immediately filled with soldiers. At this she earnestly remonstrated, but in vain, and was obliged to retire with her children to the house of her father. Mr. Smith then sent for Mr. Francis Lloyd, one of the Sheriffs of Limerick, into whose custody he delivered Mr. Arthur without having produced any warrant of commitment; but in a short time Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Garden, of the 54th Regiment, accompanied by other officers, came with a guard, and told Mr. Arthur he was his prisoner by order of Major General Morrison; thus changing the commitment into a military imprisonment, each of them, it is conceived, equally illegal. Soon after, Major General Morrison himself arrived, when Mr. Arthur apprized him, that there were in the house, one thousand guineas in specie besides much paper, and other valuables, for which he, Major General Morrison, must be responsible. On this intimation the General permitted, that Mrs. Arthur should return to the house, on the express condition however, that the seals, which he then put on the counting house and private drawers (of which the General at the same time kept the keys) should not be removed. The House, Cellars, &c. then underwent the minutest search, and the very vault, where the fuel was kept, was emptied on the suggestion of Mr. Sheriff Lloyd. No discovery having been made, the keys of Mr. Arthur's Ware-house, with

\* If the coincidence of the date of this arrest, with the declaration made by Lieutenant Colonel Cockell be not supposed to have been accidental, it must appear mysterious, that the determination should have been made so long before, without having been acted upon: and it may occur, that a plan for getting rid of an obnoxious man could bear to be suspended, and postponed to other conveniences, whilst the repression of a treasonable correspondence would have required instant exertion.

with those of his wine vaults and others, were delivered up to Lieutenant Colonel Darby of the 54th Regiment, then quartered at Limerick. The detention of those keys stopped not only the extensive business, which was particularly Mr. Arthur's, but that branch also, in which his Father, Mr. Patrick Arthur, was a partner. In the mean time Major General Morrison, at the head of a considerable body of horse and foot, followed by the Mayor, Sheriffs and peace officers, conveyed Mr. Arthur to the city marshalsea prison, where he was confined without commitment or warrant of any sort being produced, to justify this medly of assumed civil and military authority, for delivering him to the marshal, or the latter for receiving him.\*

At the marshalsea prison, Mr. Arthur was confined in a narrow room on the third floor, and denied the use of pen, ink and paper, as well as the sight of any human being but the turnkey; and for farther security against his escape, a sentinel was placed in the street opposite his window, with positive orders to fire upon him, if he approached it. No intimation of such order was given to him. Mr. Arthur, who on his approach to the window, luckily observing the sentinel cock his piece and level it at him, retired in time to escape the peril. It would be a natural supposition, that the sentinel was posted merely to intimidate Mr. Arthur, and prevent his planing any mode of escape; but this was done away by the circumstance of the sentinel, on seeing a person come to the next window, (which was in another house, though the uniformity of the building made it appear the same) deliberately firing at him; the bullet grazed his skull. After this the front of Mr. Arthur's room was white-washed to prevent such a mistake in future, without however giving Mr. Arthur the most trifling precaution or the reason of it.

The weather was intensely hot, and the room so close, as to be heavily oppressive to Mr. Arthur. So sensible was Lieutenant Colonel Cockell of this, as far as it affected

\* To those, who had not the calamity of witnessing the state of Ireland at that juncture, it may occur, that Mr. Arthur, or some of his friends might have applied for the *Habeas Corpus*. But such was the condition of individuals in those wretched days, when all law was dissolved by the governing powers, that such an application would have been fruitless on behalf of Mr. Arthur, while it would have been ruin to the friend employed.

himself, that one day, when he brought a letter, that required some instruction or direction from Mr. Arthur, relative to a point of business, he could not bear the heat of the room long enough to take down Mr. Arthur's explanation, but left the letter, as he was overcome with the heat. Notwithstanding this, the mode of confinement was not altered, nor was any relief given, save that on the representation of Mr. Patrick Arthur, that the prisoner could not live much longer in such an atmosphere, Lieutenant Colonel Cockell ordered one pane of glass to be broken in the window, and subsequently permitted a second also to be broken, on the earnest petition of Mr. Arthur.

It was on the second visit of Lieutenant Colonel Cockell to the prison, fourteen days after Mr. Arthur's arrest, that Mr. Arthur took the liberty of complaining in presence of his father, (who, to obtain some explanations on points of business, was permitted by the General to accompany Lieutenant Colonel Cockell to the prison) of the hardships of being confined in a manner so dangerous to his health, without knowing upon what charge or through whose accusation. The answer was, you have been arrested, and confined by order of Government. Whether you will be tried here, or in Dublin, I know not. The only charge we have yet against you, comes from a man, who has never seen you, and does not know you. If you are tried here, you may depend on the honor of the present court martial. Mr. Patrick Arthur asked, whether the assistance of council would be allowed, if his son were tried in Limerick. No, answered Lieutenant Colonel Cockell, that is not customary. Yet it is well known to be the constant usage in England for Barristers to be permitted to attend at courts martial, for the purpose of suggesting their advice though not suffered to plead.

On Sunday, the 17th of June, nineteen days after the seizure of his effects, the pressing solicitations of Mr. Patrick Arthur, (as partner with his son in trade) prevailed on Colonels Darby and Cockell, so far, as that they delivered out some few bills, that were becoming due, but they absolutely refused to deliver up the thousand guineas, though the want of them to pay the duties and freights of certain cargoes was strenuously urged. Mr. Patrick Arthur represented all this by letter to General Morrison and had earnestly petitioned, that his Ware-house might be searched and afterwards laid open to him, as the injury to his trade

was very grievous, from his being refused access to his stores. The supplication was for a long time fruitless; he however persevered in his remonstrances, and at last on or about the 21st of June, Colonels Darby and Cockell, after having made a most minute search in it, delivered the keys of the Ware-house to Mr. Patrick Arthur; but Colonel Darby retained those of the Counting-house, Wine Vaults, Bureaus, Drawers, &c.

On Wednesday, the 20th of June, Mrs. Arthur applied to General Morrison for Mr. Thwaytes, a Surgeon on his medical staff, to attend her husband, whose health had become much affected by his confinement. The answer was, that the General had not heard Mr. Arthur was ill, but that he would enquire about it. The first part of the answer was probably accurate, as there was no reason to believe, that General Morrison had ever asked what was Mr. Arthur's condition in so close an imprisonment: the second part was not so correct, for the General never did cause any enquiry to be made, nor was any medical man suffered to approach Mr. Arthur. Mr. Sheriff Lloyd seeing Mrs. Arthur's servant bring to the door of the prison some whey, which she hoped might have been received, and passed to her husband, to alleviate his suffering from the excessive heat, called a sergeant to hold the servant, while he (a peace officer) beat the unoffending man so unmercifully, that he returned home covered with wounds and blood.

At nine o'clock in the evening of the 22d of June, Mr. Arthur being then in bed through indisposition, received a notice, "that he was to be tried the next morning." There was no intimation of the nature of the charge, of the accuser, or of any circumstance, that might enable him to make preparation.

On the trial before the Court martial the 23d of June, 1798, Mr. Arthur was brought up to the Council Chamber over the Exchange, where the court martial was then sitting. It was composed as follows:

Lieutenant Colonel Darby of the 54th Regiment, President.	
Lieut. Colonel Garden of the 54th Regiment.	
Captain Spence of the 54th Regiment.	
Major Carlisle of the Kildare Militia.	} Members.
Captain Manuel of the Perthshire Fencibles.	
Lieut. Donald Maclean of the 54th Regiment, Assisting Judge Advocate.	

The Members of this Court Martial were not sworn at the opening of the Court in the presence of the prisoner. The Judge Advocate preferred his charge in the following terms. " Francis Arthur you stand charged with having aided and assisted in the present rebellion.

The proof of this was to be made out on three counts.

First, offering although not advancing money for the use of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, after notice of his rebellious purposes. Second, employing one Higgins to receive men in the west. Third, having fire arms and pikes concealed in Hogsheads. In support of the first count, the only witness produced was William Maum, a man, whose character was so avowedly infamous, that two members of the court, who sat next the prisoner, Major Carlisle and Captain Manuel, desired Mr. Arthur not to take the unnecessary trouble of substantiating by evidence the known profligacy of the witness. Maum had long been a notorious vagabond, had been convicted of treasonable practices, and was then under sentence of transportation for life. He was on his way to Waterford to be shipped off with other convicts for Botany Bay, when he was stopped by order of Government at Clonmell. In what particular manner he was there tampered with, cannot be traced farther, than that the names of Hargrove and Arthur were there suggested to him, either of whom it appears he had not the least knowledge of. It appears also, that some assurance was given to him by the High Sheriff of the County of Tipperary, (Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald) as he told Hare, which made him perceive an interest in convicting some persons, under the description of accomplices with him. With a character so blasted and under legal incapacity of giving testimony in a court of Justice (being a convicted and unpardoned felon) was this man called up to accuse of high treason, a respectable gentleman, who had given proofs of active loyalty, and had ever enjoyed an unimpeached reputation, and the accusation carrying obviously upon the face of it so wild and absurd a fabrication.

Maum deposed, that on the day Peter Finnerty was set in the pillory in Dublin, he met Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Counsellor Sampson in Dame-street, and walked with them to the Printing Office of a Newspaper called *The Press*, where Lord Edward gave him two letters directed to Francis Arthur at Limerick, one a circular letter, p<sup>re</sup>ced

and open, merely notifying, that there would be an insurrection in March, to supersede the present Government, and elect another more on the principles of liberty : the other sealed and in manuscript, which treated of money, or contracts for money, for the use of the Rebels or United Irishmen. He left Dublin shortly after in the two day coach to Limerick, where he put up at one Andersons, and from thence went to Ward's a Silversmith on Ball's-bridge, to purchase some articles. In the course of conversation, Maum enquired of him, where Mr. Arthur lived, and Anderson shewed him the house. He then parted from Anderson to fetch a bundle he had left at the mail coach office, and on his return knocked at Mr. Arthur's door, which was opened by a man servant, who told him his master was at home and went in immediately. A person came to the door, received the letters, read them, and upon Maum's saying he knew the contents, promised to comply with them, and desired him to call in the morning. Accordingly Maum went to the same house the next morning, and enquiring for Mr. Arthur, heard, that he was at the review with his corps. Maum, together with Ward, followed him to the review, and upon his return thence to Limerick, immediately set out for the county of Cork, without calling on Mr. Arthur. Sometime after, however, he received a letter by the post at Charleville, signed, Francis Arthur, wherein he offered him any sum of money he might want on account of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.\*

\* Maum had been in the custody of the persons, who upon the above information brought Mr. Arthur to trial, for more than a month after they had taken the determination, as is clear from the pregnant expressions of Lieutenant Colonel Cockell, on Thursday the 24th May. They must have weighed the testimony offered by Maum : they must have perceived, that it would require collateral support. It seems wonderful, therefore, that they should have made no enquiries about Maum in Charleville, (a place only twenty miles from Limerick) after his having told them, that he had remained there subsequent to his visit to Mr. Arthur. Had they investigated the subject, they might have found, that Maum was not in Dublin on the 30th of December, 1797, when Finnerty was pilloried. They would have traced him passing part of the winter at Charleville, proceeding from thence to Churchtown, a village six miles from Charleville, where he spent the Christmas holidays, that is to say, from the 23d December, 1797, to the 3d day of January, 1798, from thence to Charleville for three days more; from thence to Rathkeal, a place about 6 miles from Charleville, where he arrived on the 6th January, 1798, and from thence to Limerick, where he certainly was on the 8th of January.

Maum being called upon to specify with more precision the time of his leaving Dublin, he fixed upon the middle of February: an explanation, which extended the phrase of shortly after Finnerty's being pillored, into a term of seven weeks after that event. Being asked whether Mr. Arthur's were a corner or a middle house, or one that he could find again; he answered, that he could not tell, nor could he find the house again, for it was dark when he called there, and he had never been in Limerick before or since till he was brought there to prosecute. Being asked, whether he called at Mr. Arthur's house more than once, he distinctly said, that he had not.\*

Maum being asked by the Court, is the prisoner the person, to whom you delivered the letter? he answered without hesitation, yes, that is he; but being again pointedly asked, "are you sure?" he reduced his positive answer to the more cautious reply of, "why it was dark, I cannot be sure." Maum having sworn, that Mr. Arthur had promised to comply with the request contained in Lord Edward Fitzgerald's letter, if Maum would call upon him the next morning, it was natural to suppose, that some important reason could be given by Maum for omitting, when he came back from the review, to call upon Mr. Arthur, and proceeding without the money to the County of Cork; the Court therefore desired Maum to explain this conduct. His answer was, I was in a hurry to get to the county of Cork, where I expected larger sums, than from Mr. Arthur; being asked what it was he expected from Mr. Arthur, he replied twenty guineas. Twenty guineas, ejaculated the President in a tone of surprise and dissatisfaction. From twenty to one hundred guineas rejoined

\* The situation of Mr. Arthur's house turning the angle of a pile of building, and fronting three streets, was such that, obviously no man, who had once seen it, even after night fall, could be at a loss to describe it, and this must have been clear to the members of the court, who must individually have known Mr. Arthur's house the most conspicuous in Limerick and in front of which the military paraded every morning. The court could not but observe the incongruity of this declaration of Maum with the evidence, which he had before given, namely, "that, having had the house previously pointed out to him by Anderson, and the road to it shewn to him by Ward, he found his way to it himself, and without a guide, in the dark, from the Mail Coach Office, certainly (for the proof will occur hereafter) Mr. Arthur's question, whether he had called more than once, and the answer to it, did not escape notice,

Maum. The improbability, that he should not have waited for either sum, did not strike the Court, as it appears, though Maum were to be considered as so especially commissioned, that Lord Edward had imparted to him the contents of the manuscript letter, (which manuscript letter, by a very curious distinction, was sealed, though it was said to contain a request for money), at worst ambiguous, while the notification of an intended act of high treason, being no less unequivocal than a general insurrection against Government, was transmitted in a paper printed and open. The improbability struck Maum himself; so that lest an inference should be drawn from it, that it was requisite for Mr. Arthur to be implicated by some subsequent procedure, he declared, that some time after, he received a letter by the Post, directed to him at Charleville, from Mr. Arthur, offering him any sum of money he might want. This bungling attempt to patch up the former testimony was entertained as evidence by the Court. Maum did not pretend, that Mr. Arthur had the least previous knowledge of him, or was at the supposed interview put into possession of either Maum's name or address; indeed any communication of this sort would have been inconsistent with the former part of this deposition, in which he had said, that Mr. Arthur referred him to the morrow for all business. Maum was thrown into the utmost confusion by Mr. Arthur's desiring him to produce that letter; after shuffling some time, he replied, why, I found a search making through the country for arms, and I burned that letter, and all other papers, except the commission given me by Lord Edward Fitzgerald. The existence of the last document he could not suppress, because it is supposed, it had been the ground of his own conviction. Apparently it then struck him, that it would not appear credible, he should through precaution have burned Mr. Arthur's letter, while he kept a commission, which would furnish against himself full and decisive proof of treason. Apprehensive, that the Court could not overlook this point, he began a hurrying inapplicable address, such as, *Gentlemen, did you hear of the business, which happened at Kildare? no, you did not—I did; evidently for the purpose of preventing the notice of the Court from resting on the glaring absurdity of his deposition. Whether any reflection on this singular proceeding, did arise in the minds of the members could not be known, for no remark*



was made by any of them. Maum's evidence was declared to be closed, and witnesses were to be called to corroborate his testimony.

William Ward, Silversmith, deposed, that he had never heard Maum's name, till he saw him produced in Court: that on seeing him he immediately recognized him as a man, who had bought goods at his shop, breakfasted with him, and then accompanied him to the review. He was positive, that no conversation had ever passed relative to the prisoner, Mr. Arthur. He could not recollect all the articles purchased by Maum, but he remembered there were, among others, a snuff-box, a pair of gold ear rings, two tooth-pick cases and a watch chain. The President desired to know whether he kept a Shop-book, in which he made an entry of the sale of his goods, specifying when sold. On his answering in the affirmative, Colonel Cockell was dispatched for the book, which he brought from Ward's shop into the Court. In the mean time the witness was questioned as to the date of the transaction, particularly whether it were before or after the trial of Finnerty. The witness said he could not speak with precision, all he could recollect as to time was, that it must have been after Christmas, because it was when the troops were reviewed at Newcastle. The Court in possessing the book, had the means of ascertaining, whether the goods had been purchased about the middle of February, as Maum had sworn; and it might have had considerable weight in substantiating the accuracy, or proving the laxity of Maum's evidence; but from some motive, which did not at that moment appear, the book, though delivered to the Court, and examined by the President, was not produced in evidence to ascertain the fact.

Joseph Anderson was next called; he deposed, that Maum dined in company with him sometime in January, 1798. That after dinner they walked out together towards Newtownperry: that upon coming to Mr. Arthur's buildings, Maum admired them and asked whose they were, to which he (Anderson) replied Mr. Arthur's. On being asked by the Court, whether he had shewn Maum Mr. Arthur's house, he answered he did not, nor was it likely he should, unless Maum had asked for it particularly.

The Court on this called witnesses to prove, that Anderson did point out Mr. Arthur's house in particular to Maum, according to his own declaration the evening before.

Colonel Cockell and Captain Brand, Aid-de-camp to General Morrison, swore, that the evening before Anderson told them, he had pointed out Mr. Arthur's house to Maum.\*

Here the first charge closed. In support of the two remaining charges, viz. raising men and concealing arms, The only witness produced was Edward Sheehy, who had been master of a country school, and was then a prisoner in custody to be tried by the Court martial for treasonable practices. Sheehy deposed, "that he heard from one Hogan, that a man of the name of Higgins had been employed by a Mr. Arthur to raise men in the West. Farther, that one Carsidy of the Longford militia, also told him, that one Macmahon of the Artillery had informed Carsidy that a Mr. Arthur had guns and pikes concealed in hogsheads. Question by the Court.†

Is the prisoner the person meant by the description of a

\* This mode of correcting evidence was curious, but furnished matter of serious consideration to Mr. Arthur, when he recollected, that Colonel Cockell was the Gentleman, who had said, the only evidence we have yet obtained against you comes from a man, who does not know you and has never seen you. It is not however meant to impeach the testimony of Colonel Cockell and Captain Brand, blinded as they seem to have been by party rage; they no doubt did not reflect upon the difference between the laxity, with which a man expresses himself when he treats a subject in ordinary conversation, and the caution with which he weighs his words, when he is giving a statement upon oath. To an unprejudiced person, no variation in Anderson's testimony would have appeared. Maum had asked him, in sight of the buildings, whose they were? Anderson (as he stated himself) told him Mr. Arthur's. Maum's was seemingly a question of mere curiosity, respecting a remarkable range of buildings containing thirty-five dwelling houses, all the property of Mr. Arthur and his Father. Anderson might justly say, that he had pointed out Mr. Arthur's residence to Maum, because Mr. Arthur's house was included in that mass of buildings; but he could not say so in a sense correspondent to the question put to him by the Court, accordingly he then made a discrimination, which was not requisite, while he was unapprised, that the intended application of the testimony demanded minute precision. That this did not exactly tally with Maum's assertion could not excite much wonder, after Ward had positively sworn, that Mr. Arthur's name had never been mentioned between him and Maum, notwithstanding all that the latter so confidently advanced.

† The texture of this evidence was so ridiculously loose, that nothing in such a form could have been admitted as supporting any proposition in private conversation, it was however gravely received, and attempted to be brought home by a question, which met a very unfortunate answer.

Mr. Arthur? I cant tell, I dont know him. With this the interrogation of Sheehy ceased.\*

Two other witnesses were produced on the part of the prosecution; not to one or other of the charges specifically, but to bear such corroborating testimony in general, as they could furnish. One of the name of Saunders, the other of the name of Shee, both from Charleville, being sworn and severally produced, each gave the same answer, that they did not know the prisoner or any thing about him." This drew an expression of surprise from the court, and the President said significantly, "they were both friends of Maum:" perhaps it began now in some degree to be perceived, that, according to the proverb, what was every body's business has been a little neglected; and that the concatenation of the evidence had not been so well arranged, as was expected. The president now declared the prosecution closed.† Mr. Arthur was ordered to be ready with his defence for Monday the 25th June. But as if to prevent the possibility of doing it, by denying him the means of preparing it, though he was locked up before, he had thenceforth two additional sentinels placed at his door, and access was denied to every person, even to his goaler and turnkey. On the next day, Sunday, Colonel Cockell called upon Mr. Arthur, with the printed proclamation of martial law, by the Lord Lieutenant, and pointed out that part, which directed trials to be conducted in the most summary way, adding, that the General was very angry the court had not closed the business on Saturday.

\* It may be asked why he was brought forward at all, as the amount of what Sheehy could say, must have been known before the trial, and indeed there will appear presently ground for thinking, that Sheehy's evidence had been previously investigated by Colonel Cockell. Macmahon and Carsidy were described as actually in the King's service, consequently could have been brought forward, and it does not appear, but that Hogan and Higgings were equally producible. What they could advance must probably have been known, and its quality may be judged by their not being introduced into Court. Was it then hoped, that hints operating on the mind of one standing in so intimidated a situation as Sheehy was would have generated a testimony more to the palate of the prosecutors? or was it thought, that even such childish hearsay, as he could repeat, would serve for an additional colour, where nothing but a colour was sought.

† A declaration awkward enough in its appearance, since it was avowing, that he, as Judge and Juror, had invested himself with the irreconcilable character of prosecutor also.

As Mr. Arthur thought, that the enjoined dispatch must have reference to the acquittal of *innocence*, as well as to the punishment of *guilt*, he was disposed to agree in the feelings of the General; since he could not but imagine that no rational probability had been added to the charge against him, by any part of the evidence adduced. If, however, the court meant to consider such evidence, notwithstanding its intrinsic absurdity, as valid, until it should be rebutted, it was necessary for Mr. Arthur to disprove the several facts asserted in it. In this view the summary way appeared to him only an expedient to cut off his means of defence. Still such effort was to be made, as the time would allow, and he gave to Colonel Cockell a list of such witnesses, as he desired to be summoned, in order to prove his absence from Limerick at the period fixed by Maum. "They will be of no use to you replied Colonel Cockell," as we know by the Mail Coach-book, that you were absent from the 5th to the 23d of February. You will find the time very different to-morrow.\* Mr. Arthur on this, desired to know what time would now be fixed for his supposed interview with Maum, that he might prepare his defence accordingly; yet this was refused him; the use of the information could obviously be but trifling to him, when he was debarred from communication with any person whomsoever, except the Colonel himself. Mr. Arthur persevered in saying, that the attendance of those witnesses was necessary for him, particularly Carsidy, Macmahon, Hogan and Higgins. The answer was, We have no power to compel the attendance of any witness. Surely replied Mr. Arthur, Carsidy and Macmahon at least may be obliged to attend. As to that point, enjoined the Colonel, we have enquired, and we find that there is not, nor has there been a man of the name of Macmahon in the detachment quartered here. The city and district being under martial law, it is very clear, that the professed inability to compel the attendance of witnesses was a cruel excuse. It was

\* Let the reader reflect what Mr. Arthur's sensations must have been when he found, that the discovery by his Judges of a direct perjury, on the part of the principal, or rather only witness, was so far from being received as a subversion of the witnesses deposition, that it was to become the ground of a new charge against the prisoner, with all the advantage, which a minute knowledge of the Prisoner's position could give, for the fabrication of fresh circumstances against him.

with great difficulty, that at length Colonel Cockell consented to transmit the list of witnesses to Mrs. Arthur. On Saturday evening, after the Court had adjourned, Mrs. Arthur, by accident, heard that Maum, had been an usher under the Rev. William Dunn, master of the public school in Charleville. On this information she dispatched Mr. Peter Arthur to that place, who returned on Sunday with a written document, stating, that Maum was in Charleville at the time, when he said he came from Dublin to Limerick. He also got information of several particulars relative to Maum, which would satisfactorily confute many parts of Maum's deposition, and he had the promise, that many respectable persons would attend on Tuesday, if the trial could be put off till that day, their engagements for Monday at Spancill-hill fair (a meeting where the principal people of the country negotiate their affairs, and where they cannot without great loss omit appearing) prevented their voluntary attending on Monday, and the refusal of summonses by Colonel Cockell put it out of the power of Mr. Arthur to compel them to attend. Mrs. Arthur urgently represented this difficulty to the President of the Court, and petitioned for one day's delay; his answer was, that it depended not on him, but that General Morrison was the person, to whom the application should be made.\*

Equiled in this application, Mrs. Arthur betook herself to the Bishop of Limerick, Doctor Bernard, who condescended to deliver her petition to the General, and to attest the truth of the representation respecting the occupation of the witnesses at the fair. Still the General remained inexorable. Early on Monday morning Mrs. Arthur again waited upon him, when he sent his Aid-de-camp, Captain Brand, to inform her, that he could not see her consistent with his duty. She replied, that the favour she asked was in writing, and she would rely on his humanity

\* When it is recollected, that the consciences of the Members of that Court could not but have taxed them with murder, if they subsequently found, that they had condemned an innocent man, refusing to give him the opportunity of proving his innocence, it would seem as if the President notwithstanding some interest, to secure time for the just investigation of the case, when the special bearing of the testimony to be adduced upon the already exploded deposition of Maum was thus indicated to him; but Mr. Arthur had been charged as a rebel, and this obliterated all other considerations.

to comply with the contents. The Aid-de-camp rejoined, that duty, alas, must take place of humanity and the General could not grant her request.\*

Previous to the opening of the defence, John Creagh, Esq. a gentleman of the profession of the law, and alderman of Limerick and the oldest magistrate of the County, expressed a wish to assist Mr. Arthur in his defence. Mr. Sherriff Lloyd told him, if he were a friend of Mr. Arthur he had no business there. The Sheriff then planted himself opposite the prisoner to see, that nobody should communicate with him, and soon after made a formal complaint to the Court, that Mr. Arthur's father had delivered to the prisoner, the names of Peppard, Hare and Shee, with those of other witnesses. Under these circumstances the Court opened. The President began by declaring that Maum, having had time to recollect himself, was cooler, and could now better ascertain the time of delivering the letters. When the reader remembers by what means, according to Colonel Cockell's acknowledgment, the Court had come to be apprized of the necessity of Maum's correcting his dates, he will not be a little astonished at the President wishing to usher in this alteration to the Court, for if, as the case originally stood, it did appear, that Maum had sworn falsely as to time, it was clear, that in the correction he was about to make, he must prove himself perjured in another particular, because it was impossible to reconcile the period, at which he was now

\* Though she had used the word favour as the most conciliatory, it was not humanity, that she solicited from General Morrison, it was strict and simple justice, the first duty from a British subject to his fellow. The first duty from a General towards his Sovereign. The first duty of man before his God.

Soon after the Court met to hear Mr. Arthur's defence, Joseph Anderson, one of the witnesses for the Crown appeared standing on the Pillory close to the Exchange and opposite to the Council Chamber, where the Court Martial sat. He appeared to be placed there as a Scare-crow to intimidate any witnesses, who might appear against the prosecution, since he was tried and sentenced to this punishment for prevarication, and what that prevarication was, has been already explained. It was clear, that his evidence was substantially the same at the trial, as it had been in the preliminary examination, only delivered with more precision, when he was upon oath, therefore it may well be inferred, that such a sentence would not have passed, or such a punishment have been inflicted, had it not been supposed, that the example would instil a due apprehension into those, who might be disposed to come forward in vindication of Mr. Arthur.

to fix having delivered the letters to Mr. Arthur, with the circumstances, which he had before specified upon his oath, respecting Finnerty's being pillored and the mode of his conveyance to Limerick. The President, however, and it is a lamentable example of the blindness, which party prepossessions can induce, thought fit to assume the character of prosecutor in this respect, and blending with it his power of regulating the proceedings of the Court, secured against objection this odious outrage against every principle of Justice. Not only did he, by this preface, protect the witness from the impeachment of flat perjury, but with an unavoidable knowledge, that Maum was so tainted, he set him forward anew, to fix a fresh day, against which Mr. Arthur could not be likely on the recollection of the moment to bring such circumstantial evidence, as might outweigh the positive assertion of the forswearer.\*

It was not an error as to time alone, that Maum was suffered to correct; he recapitulated the whole evidence with such marked variations, as indicated in the most shameless manner, that observations on the incoherence and intrinsic absurdity of his former testimony had occasioned it to be deemed necessary, to give somewhat more of verisimilitude to the date, which would have justified Mr. Arthur's execution.

It is wonderful, that Maum should not have put together a more consistent story, either in the first instance or in this, his second attempt. He had every convenience for moulding his tale according to circumstances, which he could learn on the spot, for he had been from the 29th of May, the day of Mr. Arthur's arrest, at the barrack of the 54th Regiment, occupying an officer's room, with liberty

\* One shudders at the hazard, which the President ran, of entailing on himself never ending remorse, from the probable consequences of this inconsiderate step, and one prays, that persons, so little qualified for such dangerous situations, by their ordinary habits of life, may not hereafter be exposed to the peril of deciding on the law of evidence, where error is to be so fatal to their future peace. To justify in any other court the strange correction of evidence now attempted it would at least have been thought requisite to ask the witness, what had occasioned his former mistake? How he had perceived it? What gave him reason to suppose, that he would now be more precise? But under the excuse of the president, that the witness was now cool, and his recollection more clear, these questions apparently were deemed superfluous by the Court.

to converse with any body, though he were under the care of a non-commissioned officer. Of course he had perfect knowledge what sort of testimony was required of him, and he had every facility of learning occurrences, with which he might make that testimony square, so as to give it the stronger colour of veracity. How he improved those advantages will be judged by the perusal of the corrected evidence. Maum repeated his story of his having received the two letters on the day, upon which Finnerty was pillorred in Dublin. A member of the Court reminded him, "that event had taken place on the 30th of December, 1797, as appeared by the Newspapers on the table: a hint by no means insignificant. Maum, thus set upright in his reconsidered evidence, deposed, "that he arrived in Limerick on the 8th of January last, as he was now sure for on Saturday last said he, I made a mistake in calling January, February, and in calling the 8th. the middle of the month. This recollection he justified by a variety of circumstances, but particularly by the articles he had bought from Ward, though Ward's book were supposed to have remained in custody of the Court. That Ward's book contained the substantiation of a date, which would have overset the original evidence of Maum, and the Court examined the book at the time, when that original evidence was given, without dwelling on that vital point but leaving it to be only lamented as an unfortunate inattention. But when the Court allowed the entry in that book to be used as a ground for a correction and re-establishment of Maum's evidence, while they must have been sensible, that the date was still irreconcilable to other points of his testimony, they did not leave room for so charitable an excuse for their procedure; and it may occur, that the apparent difference in the date fixed by Maum on Saturday, with that in Ward's book of the sale of the articles purchased by him, and the necessity of Maum's reflecting on the date, made it necessary to put off the defence till Monday, particularly as it was now buzzed about in the Court, that the prisoner was in Dublin at the time mentioned by Maum, although putting off the defence till Monday were so contrary to General Morrison's orders to the Court.

It was true, that Maum arrived at Limerick on the 8th of January, not from Dublin, but from Rathkeal, in the County of Limerick, for the fact of his appearance there at



that time had been confirmed by two credible witnesses, who upheld all that had any reality in his evidence. To reconcile this period with what he had before sworn, as to his having left Dublin shortly after Finnerty's being pillorred demanded some management, he could not well extend the *shortly* beyond two or three days, when the mission was so important; accordingly he so explained the term, by now saying, that he waited two or three days in Dublin, to see how the public would take Finnerty's punishment, and then set out. It is to be observed, that the third day after Finnerty's being pillorred, was the 2d of January. What became of Maum till the 8th? Is it conceivable, that this question did not suggest itself to any member of the Court? He had before sworn, that he came to Limerick in the two day coach from Dublin, and that he went in the evening for his bundle to the Coach office, whence he went directly to Mr. Arthur's, so that three or four days obviously remained to be accounted for. The Court did not seem disposed to embarrass the witness by observations; he, however, felt it necessary to dispose of this awkward interval of time, and he said, he made a circuitous journey of five or six days, the employment of which he would detail, if the Court thought it necessary. The Court did not seem disposed to entangle the witness or themselves in new difficulties, and accordingly declined this explanation; nor was it even thought expedient, to ask Maum the natural question, how he contrived to prevail on the two day Coach, a regular conveyance between Dublin and Limerick on fixed days, to accompany him in this ramble. He persisted in mentioning, that he knocked at Mr. Arthur's door that evening, but as the two witnesses Ward and Anderson, from whom he before asserted he had obtained the information, which was Mr. Arthur's house, had given a flat contradiction to his statement in this particular, he did not specify how he distinguished Mr. Arthur's residence, and the Court generously refrained from pressing him on this point. It will be recollected, that on his first examination, he could not answer, whether Mr. Arthur's house were a middle or a corner one, and that he declared, he could not find it again, as it was dark when he went thither. It having appeared on the Saturday rather awkward, that Mr. Arthur should come into the street to a person, who

called on him on business, rather than have that person introduced into the house, Maum now swore, "that he desired the Servant to call Mr. Arthur out." Still there was another awkwardness to correct. Mr. Arthur's reading the letters in the dark, as deposed on Saturday, had probably stricken some commentator as impossible. Maum, therefore, now swore, that Mr. Arthur took the letters to a Globe or Lamp: it would perhaps have been more natural, had he taken them to a candle in the house; yet such was the deposition. Unluckily Maum forgot, that if the light of the globe were sufficient to enable Mr. Arthur to read the letters, it must have exhibited Mr. Arthur's features so distinctly to Maum, during the time he was reading them, that the latter could have no excuse for what he had sworn only two days before, namely, "that he could not be positive as to Mr. Arthur's person, because it was dark when he had the interview with him." The President seemingly disliking the account of an eminent Merchant reading his letters by the light of a lamp in the street, thus addressed Maum. At what hour did you deliver the letters? Was it at three o'clock? Maum had gone too far to avail himself of this useful interrogation, felt the necessity of abiding by the lamp light, and answered, it was dark, after nightfall. A conversation in the street on so nice a subject appearing likewise too improbable, Maum refused his evidence on that point, and deposed, that Mr. Arthur only said, it was very well, he would give him an answer in the morning. For this answer it seems Maum never called. This to ordinary apprehensions might appear rather extraordinary; the more so, as he had found time to go to the review, and come back from the review to Limerick the next day. He had sworn indeed, that he was in a hurry to set off for the County of Cork, where he expected to collect greater sums; but he had also sworn on the same examination, (on Saturday) that Mr. Arthur had promised to comply with Lord Edward Fitzgerald's application for money; an assertion, which he now dropped, by professing, that Mr. Arthur only said, it was very well, he would give him the answer in the morning. When he contradicted, or at least withdrew so many parts of his original testimony, what dependance could be placed on the rest? The fact was, he had been diligently apprised of the preparations to prove his perjury on certain particulars, he knew not how far this

went, and in his confused attempts to evade detection, he committed himself the more. He had sworn on Saturday, that Mr. Arthur had addressed a letter to him at Charleville, (where it does not appear how Mr. Arthur was to know a letter would find him there), by the post, in which he (Mr. Arthur) offered him any sum of money he wanted for Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Alarmed as he now was for the character of his testimony, he probably thought it was rather too much to expect belief to the fact, that a man acquainted with the world, and in the habit of business, would trust to the common post a letter, which would convict him of felony, at a time too, when it was notorious, that all correspondence underwent inspection, and when the distance was so short, the letter might have been sent without inconvenience, by a servant. He therefore now explained away this part of his Saturday's evidence and swore, that Mr. Arthur's letter only expressed surprise at his having called for an answer to Lord Edward Fitzgerald's letter.\*

It was now observed by the Court, that frequent notes were from time to time delivered to the prisoner, to enable him to cross examine Maum, and on enquiry by the President, where Mr. Arthur could obtain his information, a note was handed by a spectator to the President, who de-

\* How strange was the contrast, which a spectator might at that moment have remarked; Anderson still standing in the pillory at the door of the tribunal for prevarication, though his character were unsullied, though his evidence were substantially consistent, and the supposed discordance of terms (if it ever existed) readily explicable, and though the evidence of Ward furnished a strong presumption, that no special enquiry for Mr. Arthur's house had been made. On the other hand, Maum, a man of acknowledged infamy, was not merely tolerated, but protected by the Court in a tissue of palpable contradictions, that revolted against common sense, and insulted every principle of justice. When Maum was suffered to correct his evidence, this corrected evidence was what was to stand against the prisoner. It was too clearly felt, that, on the original evidence, Mr. Arthur must have been instantly acquitted. In this second examination, either Maum was understood to swear the truth, or to have perjured himself. If the latter, he discredited his evidence on the original examination in such a manner, as that it could not weigh in the minutest degree against Mr. Arthur, and if he were supposed to have sworn the truth, compute the amount of his evidence on the second examination, and it will be found not to affix upon Mr. Arthur an atom of what the law would pronounce to be guilt.

clared, that a revolutionary committee was sitting in the adjoining tavern. This revolutionary committee consisted of Mr. Arthur's witnesses, who were about ten in number, all respectable inhabitants of Limerick. They were not allowed to be in Court during the examination of other witnesses, and could not remain in the street, which was kept clear by the military, who, on pretence of attending the punishment of Anderson, surrounded the Court in great numbers on every side, they were waiting therefore at an hotel near, till they should be respectively called to give their testimony. The trial was stopped, the Judge Advocate was sent to secure those persons, for which purpose he placed sentinels at the front and rear of the house, with orders to let none of them out, before the breaking up of the Court, and he likewise seized all the documents and papers, which Mr. Arthur's friends had been able to collect in the short interval since Saturday, *when the nature of the charge first became known to them.* Among others he seized the authenticated papers brought from Charleville by Mr. Peter Arthur, who was himself one of those witnesses so detained, which documents were intended to be adduced on the prisoner's defence : but the Judge Advocate would not now suffer them to be exhibited, retaining them in his possession, on his return to the Court. This contempt of justice, scarcely attempted to be veiled by the most flimsy pretext, shews in part the state of Ireland. Mr. Arthur now found himself cut off from the resource of such information, as the zealous industry of his friends had obtained ; but his difficulty was not allowed to stop here. Mr. Sheriff Lloyd, who had planted himself opposite to the prisoner during the trial, actually complained to the Court, that the aged father of Mr. Arthur had communicated to his son, the names of Hare, Peppard and Shee with some others, who were capable of bearing important testimony, and who happily had not been in company with those, who were just taken into custody. The Court again strictly forbid any communication with the prisoner, and ordered, that no document or paper should be handed to him, without having been first submitted to the perusal of the Court.

It is a trifling circumstance, but it will illustrate the general tone of procedure to mention, that, at the opening of the Court on Monday, Sheriff Lloyd stationed himself on the stairs leading up to the Council Chamber, for the

purpose of preventing those, who were known to be, or were deemed by him, friends to the prisoner, from entering the Court, and among others refused permission to Mr. Arthur's father, until at length the decision of that exemplary magistrate yielded to him at the solicitations of a number of the Gentlemen, who were present at this extraordinary scene.

From the steps, that had been taken little was left in Mr. Arthur's power to produce in his defence; yet less than little appeared sufficient, for nothing seemed necessary to destroy the credit of such a confused and contradictory narrative, as Maum had offered, especially when the recorded infamy of that witness was entirely known to the Court. Still the wisdom and solicitude of Mr. Arthur's friends made them deem it advisable, not to leave the prosecution a semblance of probability to shelter itself under; from this wish, rather than from any apprehensions of his own, he called the witnesses, which had been indicated to him.

Mathew Hare, permanent Sergeant of the Clanwilliam Cavalry, swore, that he received Maum into his custody at Clonmell from the High Sheriff of the County of Tipperary, Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald, and his orders were to treat Maum well, and with indulgence, as a person, who would give material information to Government. At General Morrison's lodgings in Limerick, Maum wrote a letter to Mr. Richard Peppard, which he gave to the witness, who read part of it, and then forwarded it; here the letter was produced to the Court. Maum being questioned, whether it were his hand writing, acknowledged it, and said in great confusion to the President, "you know, Sir, that it was but lately, that I gave information against Mr. Arthur, and that I did not wish to do it." It was of singular importance, that the meaning of the word *lately* should be defined, and that Maum should explain how he was compelled or induced to act against his wish,\* in giving his testimony on this occasion.

\* To any one, who reflects, it will not appear likely, that Maum could have had scruples about working out his own pardon by criminating any other person, so that his repugnance to accuse Mr. Arthur will seem to have rested solely on his consciousness, that his want of knowledge of all particulars, relating to that gentleman, would leave his tale so liable to detection, as that it could not be borne through with any chance of success. Cross examination might have elucidated this, but Mr. Arthur

It is evident, that *lately* could not refer to the 29th of May, when Maum was brought to Limerick, and Mr. Arthur was first thrown into his rigorous confinement, because it is clear, that Maum was not duly prepared for the prosecution, when he was brought into Court on Saturday, the 23d of June. Had he had time to fashion his story, he would at once have produced it, as he exhibited it on the 25th of June, corrected by the knowledge he had acquired in that short interval.

The letter was as follows.

Dear Sir,

I had not an opportunity this morning of informing you of the circumstances, which brought me from Waterford to this town; they are as follows; I was remanded to Limerick by an order from Government, my name being found on Lord Edward Fitzgerald's roll, and intimating, that I was to hold a very excellent command in the Counties of Cork and Limerick. I cannot conjecture what is now to be done with me. I was asked if I knew Mr. Hargrove, I declared I never spoke to him in my life, much less to Mr. Arthur, who it seems was likewise nominated in his Lordship's muster. I hope I may be sent to Cork, that I may have a second interview with the lads of Charleville.

I am, &c.

W. Maum.

Addressed to Mr. Richard Peppard, Limerick.

Maum was asked, when, and why he wrote that letter, his answer was, I wrote it at the General's lodgings, the

was little in condition to apply skill of that sort; it was not simply, that his bodily strength and mental alacrity were sunk by the length, the closeness, and the solitude of his confinement; a more material cause prevailed to unfit him for the occupation. The reader may frame some obscure notion of it, and may be never be in the situation to understand it more distinctly. There are situations, in which the sense of unjust persecution plunges the mind into such indignation and despair, that it spurns the consideration of what the rancour of man may effect, and condemning wordly defences looks to the Almighty alone for compensation of the injury, which it anticipated from human passion and malignity. Such was the state of Mr. Arthur, he thought the exposure of injustice nugatory and unimportant, if it were resolved as appeared to him to be the case, to sacrifice him, whatever might be the texture of the pretence, and it was only the anxious imploring glance of a parent or of a friend, that could make him by starts give a momentary and continued attention to that vindication, which another person, whose thoughts would not have been troubled, was not permitted to conduct for him.

morning of the day, on which Doctor Hargrove and the prisoner were taken up. Mr. Peppard was my townsman, and I did not wish, that reports should be sent to Charleville that I had turned approver. It is clear from this answer, that he had been wrought upon to bear testimony against Mr. Arthur, after he had declared to those, who solicited it, that he had never spoken to that gentleman, and after he had imagined, that Dr. Hargrove and Mr. Arthur must be put out of his power by the written declaration, which he thus lodged in the hands of a respectable tradesman. As the Court appeared exclusively to conduct the prosecution, notwithstanding the incompatibility between the characters of Judge and accuser; it would have been for its honor, to have cleared up the point, who it was, that suggested the names of Hargrove and Arthur to Maum, and then suffered the latter to be brought forward as a witness against one, whom he had disclaimed ever to have seen. As to Lord Edward's roll, we may safely assume, that its invalidity as evidence could not have prevented its being produced in that Court, which had admitted the testimony of Sheehy. Therefore it is to be inferred, that no description of person in it applied to Mr. Arthur of Limerick. Yet the production of it was requisite in decency, since it appears from the expression in Maum's letter, who, *it seems* was likewise nominated in his Lordship's muster, that this circumstance had been pointed out to Maum as a ground, on which he was to work. Sylvester Shee, a prisoner then in custody, and to be tried by the Court Martial, was now called for by Mr. Arthur, at which the Court seemed very much surprised, and Major Carlisle, addressing himself to the prisoner, asked him to what point he meant to call Shee. On Mr. Arthur's replying, to the infamous character of the witness, Maum; the Major rejoined, the Court is already fully informed in this particular, you need not take any trouble to confirm it. Mr. Arthur, however, persisting, Sylvester Shee was produced and sworn. He deposed, that he had lodged strong informations against Maum, which were then in General Morrison's hands. This was a strong proof, that Maum could not be an unbiassed witness. It is scarcely credible, that such information, which must have gone to affect Maum's life, he being already under sentence of transportation could be made use of to intimidate him to come

forward as prosecutor of Mr. Arthur, yet it would be difficult to account otherwise for his expressions to the President, *You know, Sir, it was but lately I gave information against Mr. Arthur, and I did not wish to do it.* Mr. Arthur was proceeding to examine Shee farther, when Major Carlisle again solemnly assured Mr. Arthur it was totally unnecessary for him to proceed, as the Court were fully apprised of the infamous character of Maum, in which assurance Captain Manuel concurred. Mr. Arthur naturally conceiving, that the Court were satisfied on this material point, relinquished the farther examination of the witness Shee.

The only two servants of Mr. Arthur deposed, that Mr. Arthur slept after dinner, when he had no company, never allowing himself to be disturbed at that time, and that he was not called out to any person whatever during any evening of the last winter or spring. This was confirmed by Mrs. Arthur, who added, that Mr. Arthur had always talked of Lord Edward Fitzgerald as a madman, who wanted to excite a rebellion in the kingdom. The rest of Mr. Arthur's witnesses being in custody, and he not having had the means of learning what facts they meant to substantiate, no other defence could be offered.

A circumstance has been kept back from its regular order, that it may here be set forth more distinctly, in order to shew, that the construction put upon it by the Court proved their disposition to distort every particular into presumption against the prisoner.

At the opening of the defence on Monday, and after Maum's reconsidered evidence had been taken down by the Judge Advocate, the President, addressing himself to the prisoner, with that strong expression of countenance, and that emphasis in delivery, which indicate determined conviction, said you yourself admitted on Saturday, that Maum did call at your house. This unexpected charge, thus delivered, evidently with intention to disconcert Mr. Arthur in the cross examination of Maum, had the desired effect, and naturally threw Mr. Arthur into that confusion and embarrassment at the moment, unassisted as he was by friend or advice, incapable of taking notes of the evidence, attending to the examination of the witnesses, and preparing the explanatory questions necessary to the development of this extraordinary tissue of perjury, that he could not immediately bring to his recollection the



circumstances, which induced him to put the question, now so much relied on by the Court, as a proof of guilt; and while such impression was on his mind, rendered him totally incapable of that close investigation of the evidence on Monday, which the nature and effrontery of it required. As soon, however, as the unfortunate situation he was in admitted of his bringing to his recollection the direct evidence given by Maum on Saturday, and the palpable variation between it and his evidence on his cross examination, it appeared to him in the clearest light, that the question was solely intended to extract from the witness a strong proof of his perjury; accordingly he delivered to the president in writing the grounds, on which he put the question, and a reference to the Judge Advocate's notes would have cleared up to the meanest capacity this unjust and unfounded charge. The President on the contrary read the explanation to himself, and turning to the prisoner rejected it with the most contemptuous disdain.\*

\* If any thing were hitherto wanting to throw the prisoner into despair and convince him, that any effort he might make against so inconsistent a charge would be in vain, and that his fate was resolved on before he entered on his defence, this unparalleled conduct on the part of the President left him no room to hope, but in the mercies of his God. The explanation then delivered to the President is here more fully given, and submitted to the reader's consideration. It will be recollected, that when Maum was giving his evidence on Saturday, he assigned as a reason for his not being able to state, whether Mr. Arthur's house were a middle or a corner one, that it was dark when he called there, and that he had never been in Limerick before or since, till he was brought thither to prosecute. But he had previously sworn in his direct evidence, that he called again at Mr. Arthur's house the next morning and received an answer, that Mr. Arthur was gone to the review with his corps. It was certainly not dark then, and the singularity of the house must have been conspicuous. This observation appeared in Mr. Arthur's mind a good opportunity to exhibit the contradictions in Maum's testimony, and in order to draw the witness's attention from his former evidence, he put the question in a leading manner to him. You say you called at Mr. Arthur's that night, did you call there more than once? Maum fluttered by the former question about distinguishing the house and puzzled how to account for his not knowing it again, if he had been there in the day light, sunk his former assertion of having returned to the house in the morning, and answered, "I did not." Mr. Arthur's end appeared to have been attained; the witness had not only contradicted himself, but had done so on a fact so pregnant with conclusive inferences, that Mr. Arthur had to expect the greatest advantage from arguing on the circumstance, under the conviction, that the Court would not refuse him a copy of the minutes of the evidence to prepare his defence. In this,

Mr. Arthur was now remanded to Prison, where he was treated with additional severity, his trunk and necessities were taken from him, his pockets rifled, a sentinel with a drawn bayonet stationed in the narrow room with him; and after many hours had elapsed, at 9 o'clock at night, Assistant Adjutant General Cockell brought to him the sentence of the court martial, and withdrew the sentinel. The sentence was as follows. "*You are to be transported to Botany Bay for life; to be sent off to-morrow morning at 6 o'clock; and you are to pay a fine of £5,000 to the King forthwith, or your entire property will be confiscated.*" Immediately after the trial closed, those witnesses for Mr. Arthur, who had been kept under a strong guard during its continuance, were ordered into court, the President, telling them, he regarded them as a revolutionary committee, assembled to overawe the court, menaced them for having dared to harbour so traitorous a purpose, and then after much insulting language, and boasting of his own lenity in not subjecting them to punishment, he finally dismissed them.

When Hare had finished his evidence, the President, in a significant manner ordered him to attend the General on the evening parade. Hare of course obeyed, when the General ordered him to be instantly carried to gaol. The *Aid de camp* doubting perhaps, whether any substantiation of crime could be adduced, only sent him for the present to the guard-house. On the next day Tuesday the 26th of June, Hare was put upon his trial before the same court

however he felt himself grievously disappointed. The President peremptorily refused his earnest entreaties for what humanity as well as justice required at his hands towards a prisoner circumstanced as Mr. Arthur was; he was therefore reduced to the sad necessity of relying on his distracted recollection of so long and complicated a trial in preparing his defence. Mr. Arthur's reason for putting the question to the witness in the words stated, is herein before explained, and is fully supported by the daily practice of Courts of Justice, when a striking contradiction in the evidence authorises a hope, that a confirmation of the witness perjury coming from himself would immediately induce the Court to reject his evidence and acquit the prisoner. The words, *you say*, &c. had a clear reference to that part of the evidence just delivered by the witness, and could not possibly have admitted of the construction given them by the President in the mind of any unprejudiced or rational man, but it would be an insult to plain sense and impartiality to dwell longer on this supposed admission of guilt on the part of the prisoner.

martial, upon the charge of a breach of trust, in permitting Maum to write that letter to Peppard, which has been recited above. As the fact of that letter's having been written and sent, was not disputed, the Court apparently thought it unnecessary to enter into examination or explanation; so they only recorded the charge, and committed Hare as guilty upon it to gaol. Had any discussion been allowed, Hare's defence would have been from the High Sheriff of the County Tipperary, to behave well to Maum, and treat him with indulgence. When Maum was delivered with the transmit warrant to Colonel Foster at Tipperary, he was admitted to dine and spend the evening with the Colonel; at 10 o'clock at night, the Colonel ordered Hare to escort Maum in a chaise and four to the General at Limerick; Hare remained in private with Maum at the General's lodgings till Hargrove and Arthur were arrested; Maum was treated with unrestricted indulgence at the General's, was allowed to amuse himself with books, &c. and had been supplied by the General's own servant with pen, ink, and paper to write that letter to Mr. Peppard; finally, Hare, on being discharged from his superintendence over Maum, had the honor of being thanked by General Morrison for his conduct. It was Mr. Sheriff Lloyd, who conveyed Hare to gaol. The latter having complained of the unmerited punishment, the Sheriff told him, it was not for having allowed Maum to write, but for appearing so sanguine for Arthur. Hare replied, that he had been summoned by the Court, and would have been punished had he not attended; no, replied the Sheriff, the Court would have overlooked it, if you had staid at home. Then said Hare, I suppose the man would have been hanged? *No doubt he would*, was the Sheriff's reply.

Thomas Hare hearing of his Father's confinement waited upon General Morrison on Thursday the 28th June, with a memorial and letter from Lord Mathew. The General paid no attention to the application, but the Judge Advocate, who had seen Thomas Hare at the General's, meeting him in the street, told him, that his Father was sentenced to be dismissed from the office of permanent serjeant, adding he had a good escape; he afterwards referred Thomas Hare for his Father's discharge from prison to Colonel Cockell, who in the afternoon gave the order for it, saying, your Father's was a serious breach of trust, for the letter saved Arthurs life.

Through powerful solicitations on behalf of Mr. Arthur the Lord Lieutenant was pleased to order suspension of the execution of any sentence, that might be passed in his case, till his Excellency should have time to consider it; which order did arrive at 5 o'Clock in the morning the day after the sentence was passed. When the revolutionary committee, as the court had called the witnesses assembled to give their testimony on Mr. Arthur's defence, were discharged, one of them, Mr. Martin Arthur applied to Colonel Cockell for a pass to go to Charleville to collect evidence of Maum's perjury, which the President and the General had been fruitlessly assured on Sunday could be adduced from that place. The pass was refused, and a reason assigned was, that the court were at that moment sitting in deliberation on the evidence adduced at the trial. Mr. Martin Arthur then determined to expose himself to all the consequences, that might attend the going without a pass. He therefore hired a chaise of Sylvester Halloran, and went to Charleville, accompanied by William Sinnott, and Francis Wilkinson. Mr. Martin Arthur is a respectable merchant of Limerick; Mr. Sinnott partner in a considerable mercantile house in Dublin, and Mr. Wilkinson, Lieutenant in his Majesty's regiment of Tarbert Fencibles. These Gentlemen brought back with them to Limerick affidavits from gentlemen of the most unquestionable character, by which it was irrefragably substantiated, that Maum had been from the 23d of December, 1797, to the 8th day of January, 1798, inclusive, either at Charleville, or within six miles of it,\* that is to say, always 112 miles from Dublin. The object of a journey to Charleville was too intelligible to the apprehensions of Mr. Arthur's enemies, not to excite in them very lively alarm, and to set them about stimulating the General's jealous indignation at the step. Mr. Recorder Smyth was in consequence sent

\* This remark is not made to prove to the reader Maum's perjury; for Maum's own penitent confession of it, (given hereafter) will sufficiently establish Mr. Arthur's innocence of the charge, while it will gratify the reader's curiosity in many other respects. But it will shew, that it was almost impossible Maum's story of receiving the letters from Lord Edward Fitzgerald in Dublin on the 30th of December, 1797, should not be known to be a positive falsehood by many of those in Limerick, who had so successfully worked on the passions of the General and of the Court.

to bring Halloran before the General, at 11 o'clock on the 26th June, to answer for his temerity in furnishing the chaise without special permission. The culprit informed his examiners, that Mr. Martin Arthur and Mr. Francis Wilkinson were two of the persons, that went in the chaise, but did not know the third person, nor had he been apprised whither the chaise was going. The Recorder caught at this acknowledgement and exclaimed, that it was strange he should let out his chaise without knowing that circumstance. Halloran answered, that when persons of the description of the gentlemen in question desired to hire a chaise for the day, it was not usual to ask them, whither they were going, and he reminded the Recorder, that he recently let a chaise to him, without any such enquiry, which the Recorder admitted. The General said, there was something still heavier than that matter against Halloran, which was his attachment to the Arthurs. Halloran was indiscreet enough to acknowledge this attachment, for which the General ordered him to be immediately committed to prison, there to remain till it should be discovered, who the third person in the chaise was. It was likewise intimated to Mrs. Arthur, that she should not be permitted to see her husband in gaol, till this extraordinary measure should have been accounted for. Immediately on the return of the three gentlemen to Limerick, Martin Arthur waited upon the general, and apprised him of what had been the purport of their journey to Charleville; and that the Rev. William Dunn, Master of the Charleville school accompanied them from that place. By this time also, James Gubbins, Esq. of Kiamare Castle in the County of Limerick, and a Magistrate in that County, had arrived in Limerick. Having heard, that Maum had sworn to having received letters from Lord Edward Fitzgerald in Dublin on the 30th of December, 1797, Mr. Gubbins thought it incumbent upon him, to make affidavit, that Maum had been actually in his company at Churchtown, 120 miles from Dublin, on that very day, which deposition he transmitted to Limerick. As this affidavit did not arrive, till after the trial was closed, when Colonel Cockell said proofs of innocence were too late, it was forwarded with other testimonials to the Lord Lieutenant. On reflection however Mr. Gubbins thought he had not done enough, so he came himself to Limerick to confirm the fact he had sworn. Halloran was liberated after 24 hours confinement,

Mrs. Arthur was permitted to see her husband in Gaol, provided it should be in the presence of the General's *Aid de Camp*, Captain Brand, and on the express condition, that she should not attempt to give Mr. Arthur the slightest information respecting any steps, that had been taken, for procuring a reversal of the sentence, or any hint of hopes being entertained. To this severe injunction she was forced to submit, Captain Brand sitting between her and her husband all the time of her visit in the prison, and Mr. Arthur was suffered to remain in the most cruel suspense till the moment of his final liberation.

It has been hinted, that the prosecutors were aware of the possibility of interruption to their proceedings from the equity of Lord Cornwallis. They had reason to suspect, that representations would be instantly made to his Excellency of the course they were pursuing. Mr. Gorman, nephew to the prisoner, was present at the trial on Saturday, and fearing, from the violence of the proceedings, how it might terminate, set off for Dublin and arrived there early on Sunday morning. He presented a petition to the Lord Lieutenant, stating, that Mr. Arthur was an eminent merchant of Limerick, father of a numerous family, and a man of independant property, who had made great exertions for Government, when the enemy appeared on the Coast, and whose loyalty was never impeached, but by one Maum, a convict for treasonable practices, and under sentence of transportation; that the prosecution had been closed on Saturday, and the defence ordered to stand for Monday, and therefore praying, that, if sentence should notwithstanding be given against the prisoner the execution of it might be respited, till his Excellency should see the minutes of the Court Martial. In answer, his Excellency was pleased to inform Mr. Gorman, though the medium of Mr. Cooke (the under Secretary of State) "that the prayer of his petition was granted, and that a King's messenger had been dispatched that moment for the purpose to Major General Morrison. The messenger arrived in Limerick at 5 o'Clock in the morning of Tuesday the 26th of June, and immediately delivered the orders for suspending the execution of any sentence on Mr. Arthur, and to transmit the minutes of the Court Martial. This order came in time to prevent Mr. Arthur's being sent off that morning at 6 o'clock for transportation, but notwithstanding the express direction of the Lord Lieutenant, that the execution of the sentence should

be respited, until he saw the minutes of the Court Martial, General Morrison exacted the fine of five thousand pounds, as previously imposed by the Court. Mr. Gorman returned on Tuesday, and on hearing of the General's determination to exact the fine, waited personally on him, to remonstrate against this demand, so contrary to his Excellency's orders. To which the General replied, "I have received Lord Castlereagh's letter respecting Mr. Arthur, and shall use my discretion for the contents. I order the money to be paid. Colonel Cockell, attended by the Collector of his Majesty's Revenue, George Maunsell, Esq. who quitted his station in the Custom-house for this purpose, came to Mr. Arthur's house, took out of his desk a bag containing 1,000 guineas, and then sent for Mr. Arthur's father who was obliged to make up the remainder of the £5,000; we cannot dismiss this subject, without observing on the incongruity of this part of the sentence of the Court Martial. The minutes of the Court Martial were transmitted by the General to Government by the King's messenger, as Lord Castlereagh, the Chief Secretary of Ireland, in his answer to the General's letter conveying the minutes, writes thus.

Sir,

Dublin Castle, 30th June, 1798.

I am directed by his Excellency, to acquaint you, that his Excellency desires, that the sentence of the Court Martial held upon Mr. Arthur of Limerick be remitted; and desires, that you will take security for his quitting Ireland, and not returning until the present troubles have subsided, and he receives license for that purpose. Soon after this letter Lord Castlereagh wrote another, from which the following is an extract. Upon further enquiry from Major General Morrison, His Excellency desires "the fine paid may be returned, and that Mr. Arthur may be allowed to go to Great Britain, or any other part at peace with his Majesty."\* The above note is underwritten, by order of Major General Morrison.

Henry Brand, *Aid de Camp*.

\* This change or commutation of sentence of transportation to Botany Bay to that of general and indefinite banishment, especially in the case of an eminent Merchant, with a numerous family, from the place of his nativity, his residence, his friends, and extensive commercial concerns appears to import, that the full minutes of the Court Martial had not been fairly transmitted to Government, otherwise such sentences could not have been inflicted on any innocent and oppressed man.

Mr. Arthur received through Mr. Gorman the above extracts from General Morrison as the final order of Government for his quitting Ireland. On Tuesday the 3d July, Mrs. Arthur transmitted a petition to his Excellency, praying either a reversal of the sentence, or such farther enquiry as might enable her husband to substantiate his innocence, upon a full dispassionate and cool investigation of his case. In support of this petition, she enclosed a short abstract of the trial, and some few general and obvious remarks together with the affidavits, copies of which are subjoined, confirming the several facts stated in her petition.

Though Mrs. Arthur were led to expect, from the strength of these affidavits, either a reversal of her husband's sentence, or a re-investigation of his case, no answer was given by his Excellency. But on Friday, the 6th of July, five days after, General Morrison received his Excellency's order for liberating Mr. Arthur. Colonel Cockell gave Mr. Arthur the first indication of any disposition in Government to relieve him from suspense by informing him, that Government directed, that he was to be liberated, and his fine to be returned, on giving security for quitting Ireland, and not returning untill the present troubles had subsided, or that he received license for so doing. Thus was Mr. Arthur not only closely confined, and all intercourse with him strictly forbidden for five days, contrary to the order of Government, but his mind was kept on the rack during this period by the uncertainty of his fate. Colonel Cockell then added, you must not stir out of your house, and in twenty four hours you must quit Limerick. Mr. Arthur left Limerick accordingly, and on his arrival in Dublin waited on Mr. Cooke, the under Secretary of state, who desired Mr. Arthur to remain in Dublin, as he intended making farther enquiries, and that he would send down for Maum. On the 16th of September, Mr. Arthur wrote to Mr. Cooke, praying, that as Maum was now brought up, the investigation might take place, and offering at the same time to prosecute him for a conspiracy against his life. To this letter Mr. Cooke did not honor Mr. Arthur with an answer; and Mr. Arthur therefore took the liberty of representing his situation by letter to the Lord Lieutenant, humbly praying, something might be done, as his wish was to go to England on the reversal of the sentence against him. Hubert Taylor, Esq. private



Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, informed Mr. Arthur the next day that his Excellency would speak to Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Cook about Mr. Arthur, and Mr. Taylor was pleased to add, that he considered his case a very hard one. Mr. Arthur feeling himself disappointed, at last, on the 28th of September, presented a petition to the Lord Lieutenant, acknowledging the remission of his sentence on the condition of his quitting Ireland with liberty to reside in any other at peace with his Majesty. But as Maum was now brought up from Cork by Mr. Cook's order, and Mr. Arthur by the same order was restrained from going to England, pursuant to his sentence, he therefore prayed a complete reversal of the sentence, or an investigation of the particulars of the trial, with liberty to prosecute Maum for perjury. To this petition Mr. Arthur annexed copies of Mrs. Arthur's petition, and the affidavits laid before his Excellency, on the 4th July, together with copies of his letter to Mr. Secretary Cooke, praying investigation, &c.

On the 3d October, Mr. Arthur received the following letter from Mr. Secretary Taylor.

Sir,

Dublin Castle, 3d October, 1798,

Having laid before the Lord Lieutenant your memorial and the enclosures, I am directed to acquaint you, that his Excellency's opinion, with respect to the nature of Maum's evidence against you, has already sufficiently appeared from his decision in your cause; nor does he consider, that any further advantage can result from the prosecution of a man actually sentenced to be transported to Botany Bay, independent of which, as such prosecution must necessarily be carried on before a civil Court of Judicature, the delay of attending it would ill agree with your wish to proceed as soon as possible to England.

I have the honor to be, &c.

*H. Taylor.*

Mr. Arthur was to judge, whether it would be of any use to him to prosecute Maum for perjury, and a conspiracy against his life, he being the only person, that suffered by that atrocious attempt. A prosecution against Maum for a conspiracy would not only exculpate Mr. Arthur from the slightest imputation of disloyalty, but would drag his base accuser, with all those, who might have been concerned with him in the suggestion or arrangement of his evidence, before a public and official tribunal; these considerations

induced Mr. Arthur to address the Lord Lieutenant by letter, stating, that from the tenor of Mr. Secretary Taylor's letter, he was induced to think, his Excellency must have alluded to a total reversal of the sentence against him, though such had not been communicated to him. He, therefore, prayed his Excellency would be pleased to direct that an authentic copy of his Excellency's decision thereon might be given him. Mr. Taylor informed Mr. Arthur the next day, that his Excellency could do no more, than what he had already done in his case, and referred him farther to Mr. Secretary Cooke. Mr. Arthur applied to Mr. Secretary Cooke for a copy of the Lord Lieutenant's decision, who told him his Excellency's decision was verbally given, and not in writing. Thus Mr. Arthur could obtain no satisfaction on this very important point. At length, after many applications, Mr. Arthur was honored with the following letter.

Sir,

Dublin Castle, 10th October, 1798,

I have examined William Maum, whose evidence, I am clear is false. He will be sent off and transported, and there cannot be any objection to your going whither you think most eligible. As far as I can give testimony to your character, I shall ever do it by saying, that I think it by no means implicated from any thing asserted by Maum, and I certainly never heard any aspersion upon you from any one else.

I have the honor to be, &c.

To Francis Arthur, Esq.

*E. Cooke.*

For, though according to Mr. Secretary Cook's letter Maum were to be sent off and transported, yet soon after Mr. Arthur's sailing for England, Maum was set at liberty, and publickly walking the streets of Cork, where he continued till the middle of January, 1799. At that period he was again arrested, not, apparently in consequence of his former sentence of transportation, but for having advertised his intention of publishing an account of Mr. Arthur's trial, yet even under this arrest, he was only sent to the guard house, and kept in the Officers sitting room, with orders to be treated civilly, and there he was frequently visited by the late High Sheriff of the County of Tipperary, Colonel Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald. Maum was at last sent on board the transport ship *Minerva*, Captain Joseph Salkeld, and sailed with other convicts for Botany Bay on

the 24th August, 1799: Mr. Arthur felt himself in the awkward and distressing situation of not having it in his power, for want of the concurrence of Government, either to bring on a new investigation of his case, and prosecute Maum for perjury, or to obtain a public reversal of his own sentence. He determined to make a final effort toward a public exculpation, and he again took the liberty of addressing both Mr. Taylor and Mr. Cooke by letter, stating his request, to be at liberty to insert in the Dublin Newspapers copies of Mr. Secretary Taylor's and Cooke's letters to him, herein before recited. Mr. Taylor did not honor him with an answer, but he received the following letter from Mr. Cooke.

Sir, Dublin Castle, 18th October, 1798.

I have received the honor of your letter. I should rather wish, under the present circumstances, that no publication should appear. I think a time more eligible than the present may arrive for any publication, and I shall be willing on a future day to assist your wishes. As you have been so good to defer to my opinion, I have taken the liberty to give it you, without specifying all my reasons.

I have the honor to be, &c.

To Francis Arthur, Esq.

E. Cooke.

Mr. Arthur finding that Government was determined to shut up every avenue to his justification for the present, and to leave him under the impression, that he was liable to be arrested, if he remained in Ireland, obtained the necessary passport and embarked for England with his family, on the 25th October, 1798.

County of Limerick, }  
to wit. } Martin Arthur, of the City of  
\_\_\_\_\_ } Limerick, Merchant, came this day  
before me, one of his Majesty's  
Justices of the peace for said County, and voluntarily  
made oath, that he was present at the commencement of  
the trial of Francis Arthur, Esq. of Limerick, before a  
Court Martial in said city, on Saturday, the 23d day of  
June last, on a charge of aiding and assisting in the late  
rébellion; when he heard William Maum, the prosecutor  
on said trial, swear, "that he the said Maum met the  
late Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Councillor Sampson, to

the best of deponent's recollection and belief, in Dame-street, at the time of the pilloring of Finnerty, that he walked with them to the Press-office, and in conversation with Lord Edward Fitzgerald, he there received from him two letters directed to Francis Arthur sforesaid, one a printed circular to the effect, that the people should rise in March to supersede the Government, and elect one more on the principles of liberty. The other a manuscript or written one, treating of money matters. That immediately after the pilloring of Finnerty, he came to Limerick in the two day Coach, that he put up at the house of one Anderson, that he enquired of a man of the name of Ward, where Mr. Arthur lived, and was by him informed; that on the evening of the day he arrived in town, he walked out with Anderson, who shewed him where Mr. Arthur lived; that it was dark, he rapped at the door, a man-servant opened it, he enquired for his master and the servant called him out; that the said Maum then delivered at the Hall door the letters he received from Lord Edward Fitzgerald; that he opened and read one of them, and said it was very well, and that he would comply with the purport; that he called the next morning and was informed Mr. Arthur was out with his corps; he believed the middle of February was the time he delivered the letters; he could not swear that the prisoner was the person, to whom he delivered them, or could he particularize the house he called at; that shortly after this period of his evidence, he, this deponent was obliged to leave the court by Mr. Sheriff Webb, (he believes from being considered as a friend to the prisoner, and intended to be produced as an evidence on his defence; that on Monday, the 25th of June, when in company with other persons in a room at an hotel opposite the Court-martial, and in expectation of being called on to give evidence, and with documents intended to be produced in evidence, this deponent and the other persons, to the number of ten or twelve were put under arrest, the house front and reare guarded by sentinels, with orders to let no person escape, until the breaking up of the court, (as deponent heard and believes,) one of the documents intended, and then deemed very material, for the defence, was taken by the Judge Advocate, that after the court had closed its proceeding, the said persons were brought with deponent under a strong guard before the court; that they were stiled by the court a

Revolutionary Committee assembled with design to overawe its proceedings, and very narrowly escaped being committed (as deponent believes from the seeming enraged temper, and language of the court.)—Sworn before me, this 22d day of August, 1798.

Martin Arthur.

*John Adamson.*

County of Limerick, } John Creagh, of Waterville in the  
to wit, } County of Limerick, Esq. being  
\_\_\_\_\_ } solemnly sworn on the Holy Evange-  
lists, deposeth, that he was present on the trial of Francis  
Arthur before a Court-martial in the City of Limerick, on  
the twenty-fifth day of June last, when he heard William  
Maum, the prosecutor on said trial, swear, that he received  
in the office of the newspaper called the Press, in the  
evening of the 30th day of December last, being the day  
on which Peter Finnerty was pillored for a libel; two  
letters from the late Lord Edward Fitzgerald, one a printed  
letter, and the other a manuscript letter, directed to the said  
Francis Arthur, with directions to deliver them to the said  
Mr. Arthur, and which letters he swore he delivered to  
Mr. Arthur at the door of his house in Limerick, on the  
night of the 8th day of January, after coming a circular  
journey from Dublin.—Sworn before me at Saint Francis  
Abbey, in the County of Limerick, the 7th July, 1798, a  
Justice of the peace for said County.

John Creagh.

*W. Hartnett:*

I do hereby certify, that Peter Finnerty was pillored in  
Green-street, in the City of Dublin, on the 30th day  
of December, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven,  
for a libel on Lord Cambden, and that the said Peter  
Finnerty was not again pillored for said offence. Dated  
this 25th day of February, 1799.

*Tresham Gregg,*  
Gaoler of Newgate.

County of Limerick, } Peter Arthur, of the City of  
to wit, } Limerick, Linen-draper, and Martin  
\_\_\_\_\_ } Arthur of said city, Merchant, came  
this day before me, and respectively made oath: the said  
Peter for himself deposeth, that, on Monday, the 25th day  
of June last, he applied to Lieutenant Maclean of the  
54th Regiment, (acting Judge Advocate on the trial of

Francis Arthur, of said city, Esq. before a Court-martial in said city), that he requested of him, to grant a summons for the Reverend William Dunn, of Charleville, who, Mrs. Arthur, the wife of said Francis Arthur, understood had some information material for the the prisoner; that the Judge Advocate replied, it could then be but of little use as the defence was closed, but if Colonel Cockell, the Assistant Adjutant General of the district, sent him an order, he would grant one; Martin Arthur aforesaid deposeth, that being informed of the Judge Advocate's answer, as before stated, he applied to Colonel Cockell to grant a summons for the Rev. William Dunn, and he believes a pass for this deponent, to go to Charleville; that Colonel Cockell refused to grant one or both, and told deponent, it was then to no purpose, as the proceeding of the Court-martial was closed, and sentence passed, on which deponent observed, that surely he must be as willing to receive evidence for Mr. Arthur, as against him; that Colonel Cockell persisted in refusing his application; that deponent apprehensive, that some fatal event might befall Mr. Arthur on the following day, and expecting to obtain evidence that might avert it, he, this deponent set out for Charleville on the evening of the said twenty-fifth day of June last, accompanied by two gentlemen in a chaise, and without either pass or summons; that, in order to avoid a yeomanry garrison, quartered at the village of Bruff, he took a circuit, and arrived at Charleville about three or four o'clock in the morning of the twenty-sixth day of June last; that he called on the Rev. William Dunn, and explained to him the motives and necessity for disturbing him at that early hour, and requested he would bring to his recollection any circumstance, which might contradict the evidence of his late usher, William Maum, (who was brought forward as informer, against, or prosecutor of said Francis Arthur), and which evidence was in part stated by this deponent; that the said Mr. Dunn went to a book-case in his parlour and took thereout a note or ticket, which he mentioned to be in the hand writing of and to have received from said Maum, dated, to the best of deponent's recollection, Churchtown, 1st January, 1798; that he related to deponent a conversation he recollected to have had with said Maum in Charleville, on Sunday morning the 31st of December, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-

seven ; that deponent considering these circumstances to be in direct contradiction to what this deponent heard said Maum swear before the said court, on Saturday, the 23d day of June last, to wit, that he, the said Maum, received from Lord Edward Fitzgerald in Dublin, on the day on which Peter Finnerty, printer of a paper stiled the Press, was pillored for a libel, and which day, as deponent read in different newspapers, was the thirtieth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, this deponent requested of said Mr. Dunn, to come with him immediately to Limerick, to which he chearfully assented ; that they arrived between ten and eleven o'clock on said morning of the twenty-sixth day of June, and that this deponent understood said Mr. Dunn made an affidavit at length of the circumstances mentioned.—Sworn before me, this 20th day of February, 1799, a Justice of the peace for the County of Limerick.

Peter Arthur.

*John Adamson.*

Martin Arthur.

County of Limerick, } Silvester Halloran, of the City of  
 to wit, } Limerick, nailor, came this day be-  
 fore me, one of his Majesty's Justices  
 of the peace for said County, and voluntarily made oath on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, and saith, that on the evening of the twenty fifth day of June last, Mr. Martin Arthur, Mr. Francis Wilkinson, and another gentleman unknown to deponent, left Limerick in his chaise for Charleville, as deponent heard and believes ; that about eleven o'clock in the morning of the twenty-sixth of June, George Smith, Esq. Recorder of said city, called on, and informed this deponent that General Morrison ordered deponent to attend him ; that deponent accordingly accompanied the Recorder to the General, who examined him as to hiring his chaise, and the persons who left town the preceding day, that deponent mentioned the names of the persons aforesaid, but was ignorant of that of the third person, who accompanied them, nor had he been apprised where the chaise was going, that it was observed by the Recorder as an extraordinary circumstance, that deponent should hire a chaise without knowing who the person was that went in it, or where it was intended to go to ; that deponent replied, that it was frequently done, when the

proprietor of carriages had confidence in the gentleman, who applied for them, and deponent mentioned an instance, when he gave a chaise to the Recorder himself, without any previous enquiry, as to the journey or the object of it, and which the Recorder admitted, that the General observed to deponent, that he understood deponent was much attached to the Arthurs, and that deponent answered he was very much so; that deponent was ordered to the guard house and from thence removed to the marshalsea prison, until the General should be informed, who the third person was, and the object of their journey, and that deponent was confined until ten o'clock in the morning of the twenty-seventh day of June last.—Sworn before me, the 9th day of February, 1799.

Silvester Halloran.

*Perce Mahony.*

William Sennott, of the City of Dublin, came this day before me, and maketh oath upon the Holy Evangelists, that he was in Limerick on Monday the twenty-fifth of June, last past, a part of which day he was present at the Court-martial on the trial of Mr. Francis Arthur, during which time, Wm. Maum, an evidence against the prisoner, was called into court, and William Sennott solemnly swears that, to the best of his knowledge and belief, the aforesaid William Maum swore, that he was in Dublin on the day on which Finnerty was pillored, the night of which day a riot took place in Dame-street, in which riot some persons were followed into an apothecarie's in Dame-street by some soldiers, and William Sennott further swears to the best of his knowledge and belief, that, as far as he could judge of the utility of this testimony of William Maum it was to ascertain the time, when Maum stated his being in Dublin, previous to his coming to Limerick, when he, Maum, stated to have delivered Mr. Arthur certain papers, and the court did then apparently agree, that the day was the 30th Dec. 1797, having looked over some newspapers to find the day when Finnerty was pillored.—Sworn before me this 20th July, 1798, in Cork.

William Sennott,

*Jasper Lucas.*

Copies of two notes by Mrs. Arthur, in answer to her written applications to Lieutenant Colonel Darby, on Sunday, the 24th June 1798.

Mrs. Arthur's first was to request a copy of the minutes.



Lieutenant Colonel Darby is sorry it is not in his power to comply with Mrs. Arthur's request respecting the minutes of the proceedings of the Court-martial.

Sunday Morning,

Mrs. Arthur's second note stated the certainty of obtaining evidence, very material on the defence of Mr. Arthur, from Charleville, if the defence could be put off till Tuesday, and stating the impediment of the fair of Spancill-hill rendering it impossible to procure the attendance of witnesses on Monday.

Colonel Darby's compliments to Mrs. Arthur, is sorry his particular situation obliged him to return the answer he did by her servant, respecting the putting off the trial, it does not depend upon him; General Morrison is the person, to whom application should be made.

County of Limerick, } Matthew Hare, of the Town of  
to wit: } Tipperary, Gentleman, Permanent-  
serjeant of the Clanwilliam Cavalry,  
commanded by Lord Viscount Mathew, came this day before me, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the Co. of Limerick, and voluntarily made oath, that on or about the 28th day of May last, having gone to Clonmell with a detachment of his Corps to escort prisoners, he received into his custody from the High Sheriff of the County of Tipperary, William Maum, a prisoner convicted of treasonable practices, and then on his way with other convicts to Duncannon-fort, under sentence of transportation, and who afterwards appeared as prosecutor of Francis Arthur, Esq. before a Court-martial in the City of Limerick on the 25th day of June last, that at the time of receiving said Maum into charge, it was intimated to him, that he was a person who was giving material information for Government, and that he received orders from the High Sheriff, to treat him with indulgence, and to deliver him up with a transmit warrant to Colonel Foster, in Tipperary; that he accordingly complied with his orders; that the said Maum dined, and spent the evening with Colonel Foster, in Tipperary; that about ten o'clock at night deponent was sent for by Colonel Foster, and received his orders, to take charge of said Maum in a chaise and four, and deliver him up to General Duff, or in his absence to General Morrison, in Limerick, which orders were complied with, and the said Maum delivered to General Morrison at his lod-

gings on Arthur's-quay, on or about the morning of the 29th May last; that on the journey from Tipperary to Limerick, and not before he mentioned the names of Doctor Hargrove, Mr. Arthur and Doctor Ross among other names, as persons, against whom he was to inform; that as to Mr. Arthur, he had never seen him, but suspected he was in the secrets of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and should therefore be confined during the present disturbance; that it was his opinion, on that account, he would not be brought to trial, but be transmitted to Dublin, and confined there; that he, Maum, further declared in conversation as aforesaid, that he felt it incumbent on him, to convict as many persons as he could, from the assurances made to him by the High Sheriff of the County of Tipperary, and by Colonel Foster aforesaid, that by the General's desire, this deponent remained in private with the said Maum at the General's lodgings aforesaid, until Doctor Hargrove and Mr. Arthur were apprehended, that they had the General's permission to amuse themselves with his books, &c. that said Maum called for, and received from the General's man, pen, ink and paper, and wrote a letter to Mr. Peppard, in Limerick, which letter has been produced on said trial; that deponent attended said trial on Monday the 25th day of June last, in obedience to a summons from the acting Judge Advocate; that after giving evidence as to some of the aforesaid facts, he was ordered by the President, Colonel Darley, to attend the General at the evening parade; that, attending as ordered, he was ordered by General Morrison into gaol; that, however, the Aid de Camp seeming to feel the hardship of his case, put deponent into the guard house; that on Tuesday the 26th of June, deponent was put on his trial before the said court, and charged with a breach of trust, in admitting the informer Maum to write the letter aforesaid; that after said charge was taken down by the court, and without any evidence, or examination, he was remanded to prison, and there confined, until about 5 o'clock on the evening of Thursday, the 28th day of June, when he was informed, that he was dismissed the service, and thereby deprived of his appointment of Permanent-serjeant to the aforesaid corps; that deponent heard, and believes, attempts had been made to deprive him of an employment he holds in the revenue, in consequence of having come forward in the defence of Mr. Arthur, whom

he considers an injured and persecuted person; that on deponent's return to prison from the court, after being charged as aforesaid, and in custody of Sheriff Lloyd, deponent complained, that a loyal subject should be so cruelly treated, when Sheriff Lloyd informed deponent, it was not in consequence of having allowed Maum to write the letter, but for appearing so sanguine for Arthur, deponent observed he gave his evidence in consequence of the summons he received from the court, and supposed, if he had disobeyed the summons, he would also have been punished. "No," answered Sheriff Lloyd, "had you remained at home the court would have overlooked it," or words to that effect. Deponent replied, then I suppose the man would have been hanged. The Sheriff answered, "no doubt he would." Deponent swears, that Mr. Arthur and his family were total strangers to deponent, and to the best of his belief, he never saw Mr. Arthur until the day of his evidence before the Court Martial; deponent swears he was influenced by no motives in his evidence aforesaid or in this affidavit, other, than those, which should actuate an honest man to promote the ends of Justice.—Sworn before me, at Saint Francis Abbey, in the County of Limerick, this 4th September, 1798.

Mathew Hare.

*Morgan O'Dwyer.*

County of Limerick, } Thomas Hare of the town of  
to wit, } Tipperary, gentleman, came this day  
\_\_\_\_\_ } before me, one of his Majesty's  
Justices of the peace for said county, and voluntarily made  
oath, that, on Wednesday, the twenty-seventh day June  
last, he came from Tipperary to Limerick in consequence  
of having heard, that his father, Mr. Mathew Hare had  
been, by order of General Morrison, committed to prison,  
that on Thursday the 28th June, he waited on General  
Morrison, with a letter from Lord Viscount Mathew, and  
a memorial on the part of the said Mathew Hare, to which  
memorial the General paid no attention; that in the course  
of said day, the Assistant Judge Advocate, whom deponent  
had seen at General Morrison's lodgings, met deponent in  
the street, and enquired of him, if his father had been  
discharged, informing him at the same time, that by the  
sentence of the Court-martial, he was dismissed the service  
as Permanent-serjeant of a yeomanry corps, and that he

considered he had a good escape; and learning from deponent, that his said father was still in prison, he, the Judge Advocate, said it was owing to some mistake, as his discharge had been given out in garrison orders that morning, and referred deponent to Colonel Cockell, the Assistant Adjutant General, deponent applied in consequence to Colonel Cockell, who, about 4 o'clock on said day sent an order to liberate said Mathew Hare; that deponent in conversation with him, observed, the charge against his said father, of admitting William Maum, a prisoner in his custody, to write a letter while in custody, arose, if any way criminal, rather from an ignorance of strict military duty, than from any intended breach of it; to which observation Colonel Cockell seemed to assent, saying at the same time, it was a serious breach of trust, for the letter which the said Mathew Hare allowed said William Maum, (the informer aforesaid) to write, was the circumstance which saved the life of the said Francis Arthur.—Sworn before me, at Saint Francis Abbey, in the County of Limerick, this 4th day of October, 1797.

Thomas Hare.

*Morgan O'Dwyer.*

Copy of the Right Rev. Thomas Bernard, Lord Bishop of Limerick's letter to Mrs. Arthur respecting his application to Major General Edward Morrison.

To Mrs. Arthur,

The Bishop of Limerick has communicated her letter to Major General Morrison this evening, and it is with much concern, he finds himself under the painful necessity of acquainting her, that the General declines postponing the process of the Court-martial till Tuesday. He says, that it was at Mr. Arthur's desire, that the trial did not proceed on Saturday, as is usual on such occasions; but was adjourned till Monday, in order to give him time to prepare his defence, and that he cannot adjourn the Court any longer. He attested the truth of to-morrow's being the day, on which the greatest fair in the next county was to be held, and that it was usual for most of the gentlemen, and men of business, in this neighbourhood, to attend it, which might detain Mr. Arthur's witnesses; but that consideration had not the weight he hoped it would have. He can add no more by way of persuasion, but sincerely hopes, that Mr. Arthur's cause may not be prejudiced by the absence

of any material witness, and that he may be able to convince his Judges of his innocence of the charge, without their assistance, whoever they be, as the court-martial now sitting have hitherto given the cause of the accused every fair and reasonable indulgence.

Sunday-night, half past ten, 24th June, 1798.

County of Limerick, } The Rev. William Dunn, of  
to wit. }

Charleville in the County of Cork,  
Master of the Charleville School;  
being duly sworn, saith, that he had in his employment, as assistant or usher, William Maum of Charleville aforesaid, who, he understands, lately appeared as evidence on the trial of Francis Arthur, of Limerick, for a considerable time before, and some months subsequent to the first of January last; that he saw said Maum in the streets of Charleville aforesaid, on the 31st day of December last, and then and there had a conversation with him, the said William Maum, in which he mentioned his intention of going shortly to Dublin, that he, deponent received a note from said Maum the next day, in the handwriting of said Maum, with which deponent is well acquainted, which note is still in the possession of said deponent, and of which the following is a true copy. "Sir, Churchtown, January, 7th 1798, I should be exceedingly thankful to you, if you could conveniently send me by bearer two guineas, to assist me in defraying my expences to Dublin, as I intend to go off to-morrow, which shall be gratefully remembered by your humble servant.

*William Maum."*

And that in compliance with said note, he, deponent sent by bearer two guineas, which he, the said William Maum, afterwards acknowledged to have received; deponent further saith, that Churchtown, from whence the above note is dated, is a village situated about six miles from Charleville, on the side of Charleville most remote from Limerick. — Sworn before me, at Saint Francis Abbey, in the County of Limerick, the 26th day of June, 1798.

*John Creagh.*

William Dunn.

A Magistrate for said County

County of Cork, } George Crofts, Esq. of Churchtown  
to wit, } in the County of Cork, maketh oath,  
saith, that William Maum, late usher

to the Rev. William Dunn, of Charleville, on Saturday, the 23d day of December last, came to deponent's house at Churchtown aforesaid, distant from Charleville aforesaid, about six miles, and that said William Maum remained at deponent's house, at Churchtown aforesaid, from the said 23d day of December until the 3d day of January last, deponent saith, that the said Maum came to deponent's house in consequence of an invitation from deponent to him, to come along with deponent's son, who then came home from the school of the said Rev. William Dunn to Christmas.—Sworn before me, this 28th day of June, 1798.

George Crofts.

*L. Batwell.*

A Magistrate for the said County of Cork.

County of Limerick, } James Gubbins, of Kenmarcs-castle  
to wit. } in the County of Limerick, Esq.  
\_\_\_\_\_ } voluntarily maketh oath, that he, on  
his return from the County of Kerry, on the 29th day of  
December last, called at the house of George Crofts of  
Churchtown, in the County of Cork, Esq. that he then  
and there saw and dined in company with William Maum,  
late of Charleville, Gentleman, who, as deponent heard  
and believes, appeared as a prosecutor of Francis Arthur,  
of the city of Limerick, Merchant, on Monday, the 25th  
of June instant, on a trial before a Court-martial, in the  
City of Limerick, deponent saith, he lay at the house of  
said George Crofts on the night of the said 29th day of  
December last, and that he the next morning saw and  
breakfasted with the said William Maum, who remained at  
said house after this deponent.—Sworn before me, on the  
Holy Evangelists, at Hospital, in said County, the 30th  
day of June, 1798.

James Gubbins.

*William Ryces.*

A Justice of the Peace for said County

County of Cork, } John Ellard, Woodranger to George  
to wit. } Crofts, Esq. Churchtown, in the County  
\_\_\_\_\_ } of Cork, maketh oath and saith, that he  
gave William Maum, late usher to the Rev. William Dunn  
of Charleville, two rabbits, at deponent's house in Church-  
town, on his, the said William Maum leaving the house of  
George Crofts, Esq. aforesaid, deponent saith, that he  
went a few days after to Charleville, for drugs for his wife

to the house of James Donnegan, apothecary, by order of said George Crofts, Esq. and there met the said William Maum in the street, and demanded the two skins, belonging to the rabbits deponent gave him at Churchtown, when the said William Maum told him he had not them; deponent saith, that he is certain it was on the sixth day of Januar last, from the circumstance of the drugs being entered on that day to the account of the said George Crofts, Esq. in the book of the said James Donnegan; deponent further saith, that he, the said William Maum, desired deponent not to mention on his return to Churchtown, that he saw him.—Sworn before me, this 28th day of June, 1798.

John Ellard.

*L. Batwell.*

County of Limerick, } Maurice Sheehy, shoe-maker, of  
to wit, } Rathkeal, in the County of Limerick,  
\_\_\_\_\_ } came before me this day, and made  
oath on the Holy Evangelists, and saith, that William Maum, of Charleville, usher, in the County of Cork, was in deponent's company with a serjeant of the Tyrone Militia, and others, at the house of Edward Downs, Publican in Rathkeal, to the best of deponent's recollection, one or two days after the arrival of the Tyrone militia in Rathkeal, which was on the 6th day of January last, that the said William Maum slept at deponent's house during the time of his stay at Rathkeal, deponent further saith, that the said William Maum mentioned at his departure to deponent, that he the said William Maum was going to Limerick.—Sworn before me, in Rathkeal, the 29th day of June, 1798, a Magistrate for the County of Limerick;  
Maurice Sheehy. *George Leake, jun.*

Letter from Wm. Gorman, Esq. to Mr. Arthur, stating his conversation with Mr. Secretary Cooke, in respect to the prosecution, authenticated by Affidavit.

My dear Uncle, Dublin, 15th October, 1798.

After the various and daily attendance I have had on Mr. Secretary Cooke, to obtain an answer to your letters, requesting leave to prosecute William Maum, I am happy at length to have it in my power, to enclose you one from him, which I cannot but think, coming from such a quarter satisfactory in the extreme, in addition to the inclosed, I had a good deal of conversation with Mr. Cooke, upon the

subject of the prosecution against you, in which he informed me, that he had himself examined Maum, as to the evidence given by him on the Court-martial, and that, he, Maum, endeavoured to make out some plausible story, and to reconcile his evidence against you, but that from circumstances, which were within Mr. Cooke's own knowledge, he knew him to be a perjured villain, and that almost every word he swore was false, in addition to this, he informed me, that he was certain, that no commission had ever been issued by the late Lord Edward Fitzgerald appointing officers in the rebel army, and that Maum's evidence testifying, that he had received one from his Lordship, could not be true; Mr. Cooke also stated to me, that, if you wished to make any enquiries respecting Lord Edward Fitzgerald, you might learn every particular concerning him, how, and when he passed his time, day after day, for many months previous to his been taken up, by making application to Mr. Samuel Nelson, late editor of one of the public papers, and who is now confined in one of the prisons of this city; from such circumstance no doubt can be entertained, that every investigation and enquiry have been made respecting your conduct during the late unhappy troubles; and it is I think no small satisfaction to have it recorded under the hand of a person holding the situation Mr. Cooke does, that the only material witness, that could be found to appear against you, was a perjured villain, and he, Mr. Cooke never heard your character aspersed by any one else.

I am dear Uncle,

Your very affectionate nephew,

To Francis Arthur, Esq.

*Wm. Gorman.*

William Gorman, of Broad-street, in the City of London, gentleman, maketh oath, and saith, that the particulars of the conversation between Mr. Secretary Cooke and this deponent contained in a letter (of which the foregoing is a copy) are true—Sworn before me, at the Mansion-house, in the City of London, the 12th day of August, 1799.

William Gorman.

*R. C. Glynn, Mayor.*

London, } Before the Right Hon. Charles Price, Esq.  
to wit, } Lord Mayor for the time being, and one of his  
Majesty's Justices of the peace in and for said City of  
London, personally came and appeared on the day of the  
date here under written. Francis Arthur, late of Arthur's



quay, in the liberties of the City of Limerick, in Ireland, at present residing in Manchester-square, in the County of Middlesex, in England, merchant, and Katharine Arthur and Maria Arthur, daughters of the said Francis, and Ellen his wife, and severally made oath on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God as follows, to wit, and first the deponent Francis Arthur for himself deposeth, and saith, that, he, this deponent is not now, nor never was, a member of the society called United Irishmen, or of any other society whatsoever inimical to his present Majesty King George the third, or to the constitution of this country, as by law established, and that he this deponent was not personally acquainted with or received any letter, or letters, from, nor ever held any correspondence or intercourse directly or indirectly, by letter or otherwise, with the late Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and the said three other deponents Ellen Arthur, Katharine Arthur, and Maria Arthur, each speaking for herself only, and not one for the other or others of them, severally, depose and say, that they these deponents never heard, previous to the arrest of the said Francis Arthur, nor do they believe, that the said Francis Arthur, ever knew, or held any intercourse, or correspondence whatsoever, by letter or otherwise, with the late Lord Edward Fitzgerald, or that the said Francis Arthur had any connexion with him, directly or indirectly all which the said deponents each speaking for himself and herself only, as aforesaid, do most solemnly declare to be true, upon the oath by them taken, as God shall help them respectively—All four sworn this 29th day of November, 1802, at the Mansion-house, London, before me,

Francis Arthur, .

*Price, Mayor.*

Ellen Arthur,

Katharine Arthur,

Maria Arthur.

The original letter, of which the following is a copy, is now in the possession of Mr. Arthur, and was received in Limerick, by Thomas Francis Wilkinson, Esq. by the regular post from Cove, near Cork, in consequence of which Mr. Wilkinson, Mr. Martin Arthur, and Mr. Peter Arthur, left Limerick, post, for the Cove of Cork, on the way they were joined by Kilner Brasier, Esq. late High Sheriff of

the County of Cork, and Thomas Holmes of said County, Esq. and these gentlemen received from Wm. Maum the promised confession hereunto annexed, directed to Mr. Wilkinso, near the Exchange, Limerick.

Sir, Minerva, Cove, 5th August, 1799.

I suppose you will be surprised at receiving a letter from me. I desire you, if you value the interest of your friend, Mr. Arthur, to come off instantly to Captain Salkeld here, who will give some information, which will not only surprise you, but the entire kingdom, I have fully delineated every matter, which contributed to his arrest, his trial, and the conduct of every officer, who has been concerned, and the villanous manner I have been compelled to be concerned on that trial, carried on by every species of dishonour. When you have every part of the proceeding, your mind will be immersed in astonishment and you will likewise assert, that Maum was not a villain, no, Mr. Arthur owes life to him, notwithstanding the different opinions to the contrary, when you see my account of the business, you will look on some of the gentlemen in Charleville, with these associates in Limerick, with merited detestation; as Mr. Arthur owes all his unmerited confinement and temporary embarrassment, to their little suspected villany; you may imagine I was concerned in Mr. Arthur's arrest; I assert the contrary, he was arrested by reason of his acquaintance with Mr. Hargrove, and on no other charge. I stood firm against all their intrigues, until the 17th of June, and you will be surprised at the manner they then compelled me, to accede to Anderson's oath, which which I made him retract afterwards by a conversation I had with him in the council chamber, which saved Mr. Arthur's life. Come to me, therefore, or write to Captain Salkeld, or to me, and you shall receive the entire proceedings, they are of the greatest importance to Mr. Arthur, and I request you, or some friend of his, will come off without delay, you will find, that Maum, instead of being an object of detestation, by reason of that villany, should be rather an object of surprise, as you will, when you see the proceedings readily acknowledge, you will in my account find an accurate account of the conduct of every officer, and private gentlemen in Limerick, who (to my knowledge) were concerned in this trial, expecting your speedy arrival.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

*Wm. Maum.*

P. S. I wish my account of the business may be published before I leave this kingdom, as I defy any of the officers, or Gentlemen mentioned, to contradict any assertions from me, I should have no objection to your publishing this letter, *quamquam animus meminisse horreat, luctu refugit, incipiam*—Admitted to be his letter, in presence of us, on board the Minerva, in the Cove of Cork, the 12th day of August, 1799,

Joseph Salkeld,  
Kilner Brasier,  
Thomas Holmes.

To the most Noble Charles, Marquis Cornwallis, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland, &c.

May it please your Excellency,

Having had the honor of so lately laying before your Excellency my petition, stating, in a plain impartial manner, the particulars of my late unjust prosecution, and praying to be either again examined touching all the parts of the charges exhibited against me, or permitted to return to my native country, with honor, and reputation; I should have waited with becoming resignation the result of your Excellency's determination, did not a fresh corroboration of my innocence providentially start up, totally unexpected or solicited by me, or my friends, in the voluntary confession of Wm. Maum, my late principal prosecutor; who, stung, as I suppose by the reproaches of his own conscience, has now done all in his power, to make me amends, by his voluntary confession not only of his own guilt, but of the *means* by which he was seduced to attempt my life and character;—the confession I therefore take the liberty of laying before you, in order that your excellency might receive this additional proof of the several affidavits, a correct copy of which I have also the honor to enclose, stating the several facts relative to my trial, how unjustly and premeditatedly I have been singled out as a victim of private and public malice,—trusting to the nobleness of your Excellency's nature, who, I am confident must feel for the oppressions and disgraces heaped upon the head of an unoffending man, I commit the record to your perusal, waiting with all becoming silence and expectation for that

period, when your Excellency, in your wisdom and humanity, shall think proper finally to reinstate me in my former situation of life.

I have the honor to be,

With the most profound respect,

Your Excellency's most obliged,

And most grateful humble servant,

London, 15th May, 1800.

*Francis Arthur.*

The letter, of which the above is a copy, was laid before His Excellency, together with the annexed declaration.

Voluntary declaration of William Maum, an accurate account of the trial of Francis Arthur, Esq. and the cause of his confinement prior to his being arraigned—many opinions being in circulation relative to the guilt or innocence of Mr. Arthur, I think it incumbent upon me to give the following account of the iniquitous proceedings practiced against him, in which, I have been in the most unprecedented manner compelled to be concerned; I was escorted from Donerail, (on I believe the 25th of May) to Clonmell by a detachment of yeomanry commanded by Captain Evans, whom I told that on that day there was an insurrection in some part of the kingdom, on my arrival in Clonmell my prediction was verified, upon which every person entertained great ideas of the importance of the contents of my mind, by reason of the priority of my knowledge to that of the public relative to the intended insurrection, I had a conversation with Colonel Fitzgerald, then High Sheriff of the County Tipperary at the house of Mr. Ryall, and another at the inn, he told me, that if I informed him, or General St. John, of the plans I had formed, that he and the General would exert themselves in favor of me and my friends, whom he found by my examination were peculiarly dear to me, I desired some time to consider, and the next day informed him of my accession to his proffer; the principal matter required of me was, to give an accurate account of my last conversation with Lord Edward Fitzgerald, which I did, in no part of which was Mr. Arthur's name mentioned, as may appear by the same in the possession of General Morrison, Colonel Fitzgerald then sent me to Limerick, that I might inform the General there, how he should order relative to the King's stores in Charleville, and likewise as some parts of my conversation with Lord Edward relative to some parts

of his district, I had the honor of dining with Colonel Foster in Tipperary, he gave me an unsealed letter to General Morrison, which I gave him the next morning in Limerick. In my conversation with Lord Edward the name of Mr. Hargrove happened to be mentioned, indeed, with diffidence, Mr. Hargrove was arrested and Mr. Arthur, by reason of his acquaintance with him. When Mr. Arthur was arrested, there was no charge whatsoever against him, save his acquaintance with Mr. Hargrove.\* After his arrest General Morrison, Assistant Adjutant General Colonel Cockell, and Colonel Darby came to me to the General's lodgings, and asked me if I could possibly bring any charge against Mr. Arthur, I firmly asserted it was not in my power in the smallest instance to traduce the character of that gentleman. I met that morning Richard Peppard in the coffee-room, who I imagined might form a bad opinion of me by reason of the arrest of Mr. Arthur.

I then wrote a letter, mentioning the questions put by the General, and my answers; I was then given in charge to Colonel Darby, who conducted me to his barracks, where I received an officer's apartment. I, from thence, reported in a letter, which I addressed to General Morrison, the entire of my conversation with Lord Edward, in no part of which was Mr. Arthur's name mentioned. Colonel Garden came to me frequently and said that the General was very angry because he should liberate Mr. Arthur, and asked me if I could not bring a charge against him; I affirmed positively in the negative. He then asked me, if nothing more could be brought against Hargrove; I asserted not, as his name was always mentioned with diffidence. After this I received some rest, but on the 4th of June, Lieutenant Louis, of the 54th Regiment, brought me a letter from Colonel Darby, purporting his and the General's

\* This was but a silly pretext to arrest Mr. Arthur. He had no intercourse, connection or conversation whatever with Mr. Hargrove, for more than twelve months previous to his arrest, at the same time it is but justice here to observe, that respectable man was put on his trial the 26th of June, 1798, before the same Court-martial, and honorably acquitted. Is it not to be supposed, that General Morrison, finding, that Government had interfered in Mr. Arthur's case, and that he had not just grounds for detaining Mr. Hargrove in prison, was induced thereby to bring him forward, and by a verdict of acquittal restore him to society.

knowledge of my being possessed of information, the importance of which they were assured of; which if I gave, I should receive a still greater share of their patronage. This letter I answered, in which Mr. Arthur's name was not mentioned. On Sunday, the 17th June, Colonel Darby brought me a letter from General Morrison requiring information from me against I. Barry, Joseph Littes, Dennis Linehan, and two gentlemen of my acquaintance in Charleville; I answered his letter directly saying, that I thought it a dishonorable infringement on my condition to injure my friends, who owed their liberties to my exertions, and that he could not by any means influence me to my friend's injury. The same day, Colonel Darby came to me with another letter, viz. "to whom were the papers sent, and what did they contain, which were brought privately by you into this town about six months ago; a direct answer is required." Colonel Darby desired me to consider my situation; I informed him I was fully acquainted with it. I answered the General's letter, peremptorily denying any papers being brought by me to any person in that town, but that I was in possession of papers, which Mr. Robert's negligence, when I was arrested, gave me an opportunity of destroying. The General wrote me them letters on account of the following informations. Saunders, in Charleville, swore, in the presence of a gentleman of the same name in Charleville, and other prejudiced gentlemen there, that I, in his presence, wrote letters to Mr. Arthur, which John Barry was to deliver. Anderson, an Inn-keeper in Limerick, swore, that I came to his house in a Nenagh chaise, and that he conducted me to Mr. Arthur's house and saw me deliver a letter. After dinner, the above mentioned day, Lieutenant Louis came to me, and told me, it was the General's wish I should remove from my present apartment; they then placed me in a tent, under a centinel; he informed me of the arrest of my friends, and read me a letter from the General, desiring him to send me to gaol, and confine me to a cell, that I might be whipped the next day, and that I should likewise witness the execution of my friend Barry, who I since learned was never arrested. Captain Brand, *Aid-de-camp* to General Morrison, came to me, and took me back to my former apartment, and desired me to leave the decision of the fate of my friends to the

General's humanity, and acknowledge to the letters sworn to by Anderson. My wits were then put to the rack. I, after many endeavours to send Richard Peppard a letter, paid the waiter three guineas for carrying a letter from me to Richard Peppard, with instructions for Mr. Arthur's conduct on his defence, particularly about Saunders's testimony, and that of Anderson, which I found afterwards was never delivered, and I suppose, intercepted.\* On the 23d of June, Captain Brand came to me and told me, that Mr. Arthur was put on his trial, and that I should be subject to the severest punishment, if I did not stand firm. He had me brought to Assistant Adjutant General Colonel Cockell, to the Council Chamber, when the General made me repeat what I had to say, to refresh my memory, I there saw Saunders and Anderson, whom I told I would injure, for immersing me in such an abyss of trouble. I said I would entirely disavow every thing they had to say. I was called to the Court, and asked relative to the above mentioned letter, and no question relative to Saunders and Anderson, as the President and the other officers fully knew what I would say. When I came out, I told Saunders and Anderson, that I fully did away their evidence; upon which, when they were examined, they totally disavowed their former oaths, for which they suffered accordingly. I assert, that had it not been for my conduct in that respect, Mr. Arthur would have been hung at his own door, according to premeditation.† The principal cause of the dislike the officers in Limerick conceived against Mr. Arthur originated from some reports which General Sir James Duff heard 1796, purporting Mr. Arthur's political principles, and his determination of injuring the General. This information was frequently conveyed to the General in anonymous letters, and I believe those reports contributed to his being superseded in his commission. This information I derived from

\* The President, Colonel Darby, enquired of Maum in the course of the trial, whether he had sent a letter by the servant to Richard Peppard, Maum replied he had done so and paid him three guineas to deliver it.

† This seems to account for the pilloring of Anderson; the flimsy pretext of prevarication in his known evidence appears (if we may credit Maum) to have been merely to cover the real cause, and it also seems to account for the President's evident surprise, when, on Saunders being sworn, he declared he did not know the prisoner or any thing about him.

Captain Vallency, of the Tyrone Regiment. Likewise there was absolutely a faction raised against him in Limerick, by some of the gentlemen in that town, particularly such as had acquaintances in Charleville, as may be well inferred from Saunders's testimony before some of the Magistrates in that town, which I assert to be false in every instance, and I rest assured, that the same gentleman excited that unfortunate man to swear against Mr. Arthur, when Colonel Garden shewed me his testimony, written by Mr. Saunders, a Magistrate there. I informed him of the falsity of it, and the circumstance, which excited Saunders to swear in that manner. In my memorial to Mr. Cooke, I mentioned particularly every part of the officer's conduct in Limerick towards Mr. Arthur, which I gave General Meyers; and in another memorial to his Excellency, which I shewed to Captain Judge of the Westmeath Regiment.

To conclude, I assert, that Mr. Arthur's destruction, by every circumstance, which can appear to me, was pre-meditated, and that the methods adopted were villanous in every particular, and I likewise assert, that had it not been for my conduct on his trial, respecting the evidence of Saunders and Anderson, he would have inevitably been hanged. Sir Christopher Knight contributed to Mr. Arthur's embarrassment, he made use of his Charleville acquaintance in procuring Saunders's testimony. I also assert, that, when my eyes were ridling about for Mr. Arthur, Colonel Darby very positively pointed him out to me. On the 17th of June, the day above alluded to, Colonels Darby, Cockell and Garden dined with the General, who I am confident, with the gentlemen in Limerick, who had Charleville acquaintances, on that day settled Mr. Arthur's trial, and also his death. On my going to the trial, Lieutenant Louis informed me, after asking me some questions about his person and age, "that he was a very well looking man, and of a florid complexion." On the evening of the 17th of June, when Captain Brand came to me, and took me back to my former appartment, he found, that I could not on that evening bring any charge against Mr. Arthur, he told me, he would ask me no more questions until morning, and said it was nearly contrary to the General's orders, but to confine me together with Barry. Colonel Garden, after coming from the General's, came to my room, and asked



me, if I could not give a positive charge against Mr. Arthur. After many hesitations, he said, that I was perfectly able, by reason of the abilities I possessed, to bring a decisive charge against him, and that my friends should be saved. And what is a stranger to you when compared to your own friends? He the next morning brought me the bundle of English Newspapers, which the mess had, and a part opened, wherein Perigord's address to the French Directory, relative to England, was published, which I suppose he was reading that morning, and laid it before me, from which I derived the charge of the circular letter to Mr. Arthur. In consequence of such materials, and the regard I had for the lives of my friends, I drew out the letter from them papers brought and left open by Colonel Garden. As Captain Roberts, when he came to me in company with Colonel Garden, likewise told me, that my friends were all in arrest, and particularly mentioned Shee and Barry. On the Sunday preceding his defence, Colonel Darby and Garden came to me, and told me, that Arthur was preparing his defence, and intended to prove an *Alibi*, which we prevented by writing to the General about the review,\* and Colonel Garden desired me to mention the orderly book of Jocelyn's dragoons to be produced on the trial, which would totally counteract the *Alibi*. My memory being strong, and having read about it, I fully recollected the time of Finnerty's pillory, from Lord Edward's activity on that business, which should be a favorable time for his circulating seditious papers. That circumstance occasioned me to mention that time in particular.

The morning of his trial, Captain Brand, after the threats, which he brought me from the General, desired me take down notes of the leading points in the information, which I did not, by reason of my good memory, I was not shewn the information the day of the trial, but I believe I would, had I not repeated to Colonel Cockell the cir-

\* It will be recollected, that Maum in his direct evidence said he enquired for Mr. Arthur at his house, and was there informed, he was gone to the review with his corps, where he certainly was on the 9th January, and had borrowed Cornet Lidwell of Jocelyn's horse-furniture, his own not being made, but this date was widely different from the middle of February.

cumstance minutely. I assert, that nothing, whatever, could induce me to injure Mr. Arthur, but the great intimidations made use of and the earnest desire I had of saving my friends, who, I was led to imagine, were to be executed, and am now with a clear conscience ready to leave this kingdom, after disclosing the iniquitous proceedings practised against this innocent, devoted, and truly injured gentleman, and I, with readiness, and happy for having the favourable opportunity most willingly subscribe my name to it.

*W. Maum,*

On board the *Minerva*, Cove of Cork, 12th August, 1799.

This delivered as the voluntary declaration of William Maum, not biassed, I am confident, by any motive, save his wish to repair the injury done Mr. Arthur.

Master of the Ship *Minerva*, *Joseph Salkeld.*

*Kilner Brasier.*

*Thomas Holmes.*

*Thomas Francis Wilkinson.*

*Martin Arthur.*

*Peter Arthur.*

Kilner Brasier, Esq. High Sheriff of the County of Cork in the year of 1795, maketh oath upon the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, and saith, the foregoing contains a true and faithful extract of an original declaration, voluntarily made and delivered by William Maum, on board the Transport Ship *Minerva*, in the cove of Cork, bearing date the 12th day of August, 1799, and entitled an accurate account of the trial of Francis Arthur, Esq. and the cause of his confinement, prior to his being arraigned, with which said original declaration, now unto him this deponent produced, he hath carefully examined, and compared the said foregoing extract, and found the same to agree, and this deponent further deposeth, and saith, that he, this deponent, and Joseph Salkeld, Master, Henry Harrison, first mate of said transport *Minerva*, Thomas Holmes of the County of Cork, aforesaid, Esq. Thomas Francis Wilkinson, Martin Arthur and Peter Arthur, of the City of Limerick, Merchants, were present, and did see the said William Maum sign and deliver the said original declaration, and the names Joseph Salkeld, Kilner Brasier, Thomas Holmes, Henry Harrison, Thomas Francis

Wilkinson, Martin Arthur, Peter Arthur. thereunto likewise set and subscribed, are the respective signatures, and of the proper handwriting of the said William Maum, Joseph Salkeld, Thomas Holmes, Henry Harrison, Thomas Francis Wilkinson, Martin Arthur, Peter Arthur, and him this deponent.—Sworn the 8th day of May, before me, in London.

Kilner Brasier.

*H. C. Coombe*, Mayor.

I John Michell, of London, notary public, by royal authority duly admitted and sworn, do hereby certify and attest unto whomsoever it may concern, that the signature, *H. C. Coombe*, Mayor, set and subscribed to the Jurat at foot of the above affidavit, is the true signature, and of the proper handwriting, of the Right Honorable Harvey Christian Coombe, Lord Mayor, and one of His Majesty's justices of the peace for this City of London, who, on the day of the date thereof administered oath according to due form of law, (in presence of me notary) unto Kilmer Brasier the deponent in the said affidavit named, and thereupon signed the same in conformity, in manner as thereon appears, whereof an act being required of me, I have granted these presents, under my notarial firm and seal of office, to serve where needful, thus done and passed in London, the 8th day of May, 1800.

*Intestimonium veritatis,*

*John Michell*, Notary Public.

*Notarial Seal.*

We the undersigned, do hereby certify, that Mr. John Michell, whose firm is foregoing, is a sworn notary public, practicing in this City lawful and of trust, and to all acts and writings, by him signed, faith is given in court and thereout—Witness our hands, London the 8th of May, 1800.

*David Gillonneau*, Notary Public.

*Robert Robson*, Notary Public.





